

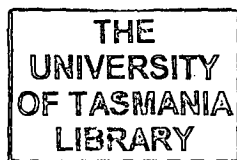
**THE MACHINE BREAKER CONVICTS**  
**FROM**  
**THE *PROTEUS* AND THE *ELIZA***

**Submitted in fulfilment of the requirements for the**  
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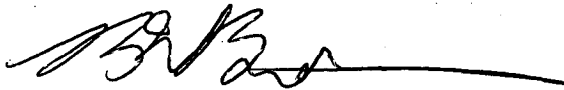
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## ABSTRACT

This thesis analyses the lives of the 332 Swing rioters from the southern counties of England who were transported to Van Diemen's Land in 1831 for crimes of machine breaking. Along with the much smaller number of rioters transported to New South Wales, they represented one of the largest groups transported to the Australian colonies for a common crime and were certainly the largest group ever transported from England to the Australian colonies for a crime of social or political protest.

This thesis explores a number of themes.

First, it considers the causes of the Swing riots and the significant impact that the disturbances had on the newly elected Whig Government. In particular, it considers the impetus those considerations gave to the development of a colonial policy that would encourage the assisted emigration of many of the unemployed rural workers of southern England to the colonies.

Second, despite their involvement in the Swing riots, the machine breakers (as they were commonly called) were not driven by a political agenda. They were overwhelmingly conservative by nature and poverty was the primary driver behind their actions. Their collective actions in the machine breaking episodes owed more to custom and tradition than to social revolution. Although this non-political conservatism was demonstrated by their post - emancipation lack of interest in political issues, their willingness to engage in collective action and other means of protest during their time as convicts demonstrated a continuation of the attitudes and values that they developed as rural workers in traditional England.

Third, it analyses the impact of Transportation and Assignment on a group of men who ordinarily would never have been subject to those systems and concludes that the process did not brutalise them. This finding is subject to a proviso that the machine breakers were such valuable workers in the colony that they were probably better treated than the typical convict who would have been assigned to a rural master at that time.

Fourth, it analyses the impact that the injection of this relatively large group of skilled agricultural workers and tradesmen had on the colony of Van Diemen's Land itself, and in particular on relations between the Van Diemen's Land Company and Lieutenant Governor Arthur.

Fifth, where possible, it traces the subsequent lives of the machine breakers after they received their freedom from 1836 onwards. The accepted orthodoxy is that most of the machine breakers remained in the colony as farm workers and small tenant farmers. In fact, possibly up to fifty returned to England, and possibly as many as another hundred and fifty left the island colony, many of whom started new lives in the recently established colony of Port Phillip. Some became quite wealthy by the standards of the time, and many others became small landowners or successful business operators. Another interesting thread is that many of the machine breakers were eventually joined in the colonies by members of their family or by close relatives or fellow villagers. This is primarily due to the machine breakers sending back



written reports about life in the colonies and as a phenomenon is known as chain migration.

Finally, the thesis analyses the place of the machine breakers in convict history. During the nineteenth century, they unwittingly played a part in the debate about the merits of Transportation, and their experiences were relied upon heavily by Arthur in his support of the system. During the twentieth century, they were held up as evidence that many transported convicts were not petty criminals but in fact were social protesters. This view was common until more rigorous historical work established otherwise, and it is now clear that the machine breakers form a discrete group. They now appear as a relatively conservative, law abiding group of men whose offences nevertheless were a form of social protest.

# **THE MACHINE BREAKER CONVICTS FROM THE *PROTEUS* AND THE *ELIZA***

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## THE MACHINE BREAKER CONVICTS

### FROM THE *PROTEUS* AND THE *ELIZA*

#### INTRODUCTION

The primary aim of this thesis is to analyse the lives of the 322 convicts transported to Van Diemen's Land in 1831 on the *Proteus* and the *Eliza* following the 1830 rural riots in the southern counties of England and test the current orthodoxies that prevail in respect of those men.

The 224 men on the *Eliza* and 98 men on the *Proteus* account for all but a dozen of the "agricultural convicts"<sup>1</sup> transported to Van Diemen's Land following the disturbances. With the 139 rioters transported to New South Wales the same year (almost all of whom were sent out on the *Eleanor*<sup>2</sup>), they represented one of the largest groups transported to the Australian colonies for a common crime and certainly the largest group ever transported from England to the Australian colonies for a crime of social or political protest.

Although the majority of machine breakers were transported to Van Diemen's Land, there was an enduring popular belief that most of them were sent to New South Wales. This belief was perpetuated even in many of the early nineteenth century writings<sup>3</sup> and no doubt can be traced back to the fact that, in the nineteenth century, "Botany Bay" was a popular generic term for the Australian penal settlements.<sup>4</sup>

The thesis falls into six parts:

**The first part** provides the background to the riots and analyses the various causes behind them.

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<sup>1</sup> Although they are most frequently referred to as machine breakers in 20<sup>th</sup> Century writings, and less frequently as Swing rioters, they were usually referred to as the agricultural convicts within Van Diemen's Land during their periods of assignment, presumably to differentiate them from the far more common urban convicts who were being assigned to settlers within the colony at the time.

<sup>2</sup> For the most comprehensive study of the *Eleanor* convicts, see D Kent and N Townsend, *The Convicts of the Eleanor*, Sydney, 2002.

<sup>3</sup> See, for example, G. A. Wood, *Convicts, JRAHS*, vol 8, No.4, (1922), p.187 and J. and L. Hammond, *The Village Labourer*, London, 1911. Lieutenant-Governor Arthur even expressed frustration at the confusion in people's minds between the two colonies – which, in his mind at least, operated under very different Assignment systems – G Arthur, *Observations Upon Secondary Punishment*, Hobart 1833, pp.44, 48.

<sup>4</sup> L Robson, *Convict Settlers of Australia*, MUP, 1965, p.14.

**The second part** outlines the course of the riots and the trials which followed. It also considers the impact that the riots had in raising the awareness level of key Government members to the need to alleviate the distress of the agricultural labourers in southern England, and the role of the colonies in achieving this. The unique, valuable nature of the three shiploads of machine breakers also meant that the Government had to deal with a number of proposals that had not been raised before in respect of convict cargoes.

These two parts set the scene for the embarking of the *Proteus* and the *Eliza* and, in particular, they provide valuable insights into why the assignment lists for the two vessels were drawn up as they were. Those men sent out to Van Diemen's Land were not a truly representative sample of rural England - nor even of the many thousands who were involved in the riots. The lists reflected the impact of many factors on the transportee selection process, including the dates of their crimes and trials, which tribunal heard their case, which village they lived in, their trade or calling, the particular nature of their crimes, and their capacity (or otherwise) to secure a petition for clemency from influential persons.

**The third part** describes the voyages out and the lives of the machine breakers as assigned convicts in Van Diemen's Land. At a simplistic level, the injection of 322 craftsmen and agricultural labourers into what was essentially a scattered rural colony, relying heavily but with a degree of reluctance on urban convicts for its workforce, should have been seen as a great boon to the colony. And it was, although the boon was not evenly distributed. Despite Lieutenant Governor Arthur's natural instinct for equitable distribution of this bounty among the settlers, his adherence to instructions from Viscount Howick saw the Van Diemen's Land Company receive a disproportionately high number of the machine breakers. Their presence on Company farms became a natural lightning rod for the already simmering discord between the colonial authorities and the company's agent, Edward Curr. Arthur did, however, ensure that almost all of the artisans were retained for the public good - through assignment to the Public Works Department.

**The fourth part** analyses the response of the machine breakers to the convict system they found in Van Diemen's Land. Although by comparison with the general standards of the times their conduct was exemplary, the frequency of offences of insubordination, refusing to work, and alcohol-related breaches of the Convict Regulations are indicative of coping with a repressive system and resistance to it. It is also worth noting that at least a dozen of these men accumulated what were, even for those times, comparatively serious criminal records during their time in the colony and seven ended up spending time at Port Arthur.<sup>5</sup>

**The fifth part** describes and analyses what ultimately happened to the machine breakers after they were granted their pardons between 1836 and 1838. It challenges in particular one of the more resilient orthodoxies about the machine breakers. The long held view, first propounded by George Rudé<sup>6</sup>, was that most of these men simply disappeared into the fabric of the colony as respectable farm labourers or minor

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<sup>5</sup> G Rudé, Captain Swing and Van Diemen's Land, *THRA, P&P*, vol. 12 (1964).

<sup>6</sup> Ibid.

artisans, with a handful establishing themselves as moderately successful pastoralists. It was believed a very small number, perhaps one in twenty, may have returned home to England.

The actual situation appears to be far more complex. After emancipation, the machine breakers spread themselves across the entire scale of human successes and failures. Possibly as many as fifty may have returned to England. Large numbers also left Van Diemen's Land for the newer colonies of Port Phillip and, later, South Australia and even Brisbane (Moreton Bay) in three waves around 1836/37, 1840/41 and 1850/51. In particular, the granting of pardons to more than half the machine breakers in 1836 coincided with the establishment of the Port Phillip settlement and a number of the men who had been assigned to northern properties accompanied their former masters across Bass Strait as trusted farm workers, to become the pioneers of the new colony. A majority of the emancipated tradesmen also chose to cross Bass Strait to the new colonies, where opportunities for their skills were more plentiful than in Van Diemen's Land.

No more than 150 emancipated machine breakers remained on the island, some of whom returned after briefly trying their luck on the Victorian goldfields in the early 1850s. Although many did certainly work out the rest of their lives as farm workers, a significant minority struck out to build their own fortunes. Some were pioneers of the newly opened up tracts in the north-west of the island. Many of the more successful ones were involved in one way or another with the public house trade or established businesses as carriers or brick makers.

Up to half a dozen of those who remained in the colony could rightly claim to have become wealthy and another dozen at least became financially comfortable as landowners, businessmen or tradesmen. Among those who crossed Bass Strait the experience was similar, although more of the tradesmen made their fortunes as speculative property developers and suppliers to the building industry in booming Melbourne.

The village-based nature of the riots meant that many of the machine breakers had family links, or they came from the same small number of villages which dominated the assignment lists. These close family and village ties had a profound effect on the later life of the machine breakers, which differentiated them from the typical shipload of transported convicts - most of whom would not have known their fellow passengers before they embarked for the colonies. After receiving their free pardons many of the machine breakers joined up with their brothers, fathers and cousins, or their childhood friends. There were many stories of emancipated machine breakers working farms together, or travelling together, as well as stories of fathers and sons or brothers starting businesses after they were reunited. There were even stories of machine breakers travelling to Sydney to rejoin their brothers who had sailed out on the *Eleanor*. Sometimes a brother or a sister had been transported for offences unrelated to the 1830 riots and there are at least half a dozen known occasions when machine breakers were reunited with relatives who had been transported to the colonies at earlier or later times.

Disappointingly for earlier political historians such as Humphrey McQueen<sup>7</sup>, virtually none of the machine breakers appear to have become involved in political or even social issues in Australia. In fact, the almost complete absence of any interest or involvement in the issues of the day in the colonies is one of the hallmarks of the machine breakers as a group. It supports the view that the 1830 riots were primarily driven by the economic distress of the agricultural labourers and that political philosophy was largely irrelevant to the typical machine breaker.

Throughout the narrative of the machine breakers is a thread of (relatively) non-violent resistance which was exemplified most dramatically in the riots, but which can be traced through their lives in Van Diemen's Land as well. Notwithstanding the fates which led them to the colony, these men could still demonstrate a remarkably sturdy degree of resistance or protest when they believed they had a justified grievance. Therefore, we find a group of ploughmen on the Van Diemen's Land Company estates who end up in court because they flatly refused to work on New Years Day, arguing that it was a public holiday. Later, another group incurred the wrath of the Company by going behind the agent's back to apply for tickets of leave. Individual machine breakers also found themselves before the court when, on various occasions, they complained to the authorities that their masters were not feeding and clothing them properly. And there is the example of the former machine breaker who became a substantial landowner in the north-west of the colony; he had his workmen fell trees across the roads on his properties to prevent the Road Trust committee members from assessing his land for a road levy which he regarded as unfair. These incidents demonstrate that there had been a transplanting in the colony of those values that the English country labourer had developed over many generations in his native land.

Clearly, in many individual cases, the convict system did not destroy the innate sense of their own rights which had led so many of these men to believe that the 1830's riots were justified, and explains why they were shocked when the authorities responded in such a ruthless manner.

One other interesting thread which can be followed through to a limited extent is the domestic arrangements made by many of the machine breakers. Although almost all those who returned to England were married men, many of the married ones who stayed in the colony - perhaps as many as a quarter - contrived to remarry. A much smaller number were joined by their wives and children who sailed out from England. There were at least sixteen occasions when permission had been granted for a wife to join her convict husband in the colony, but in most cases the wife appears to have declined the opportunity. A limited review will also be carried out of what happened to the families of those who were left behind. There were a small number of instances where wives bore children more than a year after their husbands were transported, or they openly moved in with other men. Some even married as widows while their husbands were still alive in the colonies.

The review will also throw up one other interesting statistic. With no more than two or three recorded exceptions, those machine breakers who made the enormous sacrifices necessary to return to their homes in England appear to have ended their

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<sup>7</sup> H. McQueen, *Convicts and Rebels*, *Labour History*, vol. 15, (Nov. 1968).

days as ploughmen or farm labourers or minor tradesmen, in conditions or circumstances apparently no better than those which had led them to riot in the first place. By comparison, many of those who remained in the colonies became very successful - or at least ended their days in circumstances of far greater physical comfort than they would have experienced if they had remained in southern England as agricultural labourers or village tradesmen.

**The sixth part** analyses the place of the machine breaker in convict history.

The machine breakers were a most uncommon and unrepresentative group of convicts, yet they have had an outsize impact on the historical perception of convictism generally. Their story was one of the major foundation-stones for an enduring historical argument that most transported convicts were not in fact petty criminals, but social protesters. Although that belief has now been crushed under the weight of statistical evidence which supports the former view, some historians still find in the story of the machine breakers tangible evidence of "village Hampdens" or at least a strain of rural radicalism.<sup>8</sup>

The experience of the machine breakers also took on a disproportionate weight in the Transportation debate during the 1830's. Lieutenant-Governor Arthur frequently referred to them in official correspondence and in his evidence to the Committee on Transportation as tangible proof that the fear of transportation could have a deterrent effect on crime in England.

## A Note on Sources

Writings on the 1830 rural disturbances are dominated by the works of the Hammonds (J. L. and B. Hammond, *The Village Labourer 1760-1832*, London 1911) and Hobsbawm and Rudé (E.J. Hobsbawm and G. Rudé, *Captain Swing*, London 1969). Rudé in particular continued his interest in the machine breakers, with *Protest and Punishment*, Melbourne 1978 and shorter works specifically relating to the machine breakers being Captain Swing and Van Diemen's Land, *THRA*, P&P, vol 12 (1964), and Captain Swing in New South Wales, *Historical Studies* April 1965, Vol. 40, No. 44, p.467.

The Hammonds were "liberal historians of the Edwardian Age"<sup>9</sup> and their book is clearly a statement of outrage at the way the machine breakers were treated. Although recognising its ground-breaking value and scholarly influence, Hobsbawm and Rudé

<sup>8</sup> The machine breakers are often characterised in 20<sup>th</sup> Century writings as village Hampdens. It is a descriptor popularized by the Hammonds in 1911 and is a reference to the Buckinghamshire Parliamentarian John Hampden who was morally outraged by the decision of Charles 1 in 1635 to extend the collection of his Ship Money tax from the coastal areas to the inland counties. He protested actively against the tax and was convicted for refusing to pay it. Although he lost the court case, his conviction attracted wide public attention and was seen as a great moral victory over the King. During the Civil War, he served as Deputy-Lieutenant for Buckinghamshire in the Army of his cousin, Oliver Cromwell. The term itself was first coined by Thomas Gray in his poem about a yeoman resisting the power of the landlord, '*Elegy Written in a Country Churchyard*', written in 1750 - 'Some Village - Hampden that with dauntless breast/The little tyrant of his fields withstood'.

<sup>9</sup> E. J. Hobsbawm and G. Rudé, *Captain Swing*, London, 1969, p.15.

believed that *The Village Labourer* suffered from a number of weaknesses. In order to dramatise events more effectively, they argued, the Hammonds simplified the picture of English social change in general and the events of 1830 in particular. They pointed to four examples of this: the Hammonds' almost exclusive emphasis on enclosure as the cause of the pauperisation of village labourers, their oversimplification of the Speenhamland System of Poor Relief, their categorisation of the riots as the last labourers' uprising and their overemphasis on the activities of the Special Commissions during the trials. The primary result of this, the later writers assert, is to unduly focus on the riots as a relatively isolated incident in English labour history and to understate the extent of the movement in 1830 (by up to a third, they believe).<sup>10</sup>

The Hammonds' emphasis on the Special Commissions is not necessarily a shortcoming for the purposes of this thesis; the majority of machine breakers transported on the *Proteus* and the *Eliza* were in fact the product of the Special Commissions' deliberations in Wiltshire, Hampshire and Buckinghamshire. Their other weaknesses do, however, need to be borne in mind.

There are three additional shortcomings that this writer has noted. The first is a failing on the facts of individual cases. Three simple examples from many potential ones will suffice to prove this point.

John Sarney of Hampshire is described by the Hammonds as having been transported for life to New South Wales<sup>11</sup>; in fact he never left the shores of England and, following the circulation of a number of petitions, was granted a full pardon in 1835. Thomas Goodman, a Sussex rioter, is described as "a boy of eighteen" who "saved his life by declaring in prison that the idea had been put into his head by a lecture of Cobbett's".<sup>12</sup> The stripling lad was in fact a man of twenty two or twenty three years of age.<sup>13</sup> And Henry Eldridge of Gloucestershire was not executed as the Hammonds state<sup>14</sup>, but was instead reprieved and transported to Van Diemen's Land on the *Eliza*. These errors may have been caused by an undue reliance on contemporary newspaper reportage and a failure to confirm the ultimate fates of the individual rioters in the official records. Alternatively, it may have been the result of a desire to depict them as tragically as possible. Whether intended or not, the cumulative effect of these and other errors - which invariably paint a more sympathetic picture of the rioters and their cause - is to reinforce in the reader's mind the injustice of the aftermath.

Less excusable is their second shortcoming of exaggerating the solidarity of the village labourers during the riots.<sup>15</sup> Contemporary newspaper reports indicate that on a number of occasions farm workers would come to the aid of their masters to prevent property damage or work industriously to put out rick fires.<sup>16</sup> As well, popular farmers like Thomas Henty of Sussex, (who shortly afterwards emigrated to Van

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<sup>10</sup> Ibid, p.13.

<sup>11</sup> Hammonds, *The Village Labourer*, London 1911, p.307.

<sup>12</sup> Ibid, p.309.

<sup>13</sup> CON 14/3.

<sup>14</sup> Hammonds, p.280.

<sup>15</sup> See, for example, ibid, p.309.

<sup>16</sup> *London Times*, 6 November 1830, 13 December 1830.



Diemen's Land and even later became one of the first settlers in Victoria), were often spared the heat of the labourer's anger.<sup>17</sup> More concrete are the official records which indicate that in many villages, labourers broke ranks and were sworn in as special constables to help put down the riots. In the small district of Tewkesbury, for example, almost 400 labourers were sworn in as volunteer special constables to help restore order<sup>18</sup> and in the small borough of Bridport, 330 more were sworn in as constables.<sup>19</sup> In all counties, labourers also turned informer in order to receive the generous rewards that were being offered.<sup>20</sup> This latter fact explains why it was possible for the authorities to so quickly round up and compile prosecution briefs against almost 2,000 rioters.

Thirdly, in their probably unconscious desire to arouse sympathy, the Hammonds also downplayed the more unpleasant, but certainly widespread, aspects of the riots. Little reference is made, for example, to the acts of deliberate violence and destruction or of cruelty which occurred, such as cattle and sheep maiming. Nor is there any reference to the occasions when the wives of landlords were baled up by large crowds of labourers and threatened with severe violence unless they handed over money in tribute. Even the acts of rick burning, which captured the horrified imagination of the public at the time, were described only briefly in the Hammonds' book in a manner which suggested they were the isolated acts of secret groups.<sup>21</sup>

Hobsbawm and Rudé (and in particular Rudé) have been the most influential modern writers on the riots and the fate of the machine breakers. In their own stated opinion, their jointly authored book supersedes that of the Hammonds.<sup>22</sup> Although their writings provide a more rounded description of the riots, they also fall down in at least one area; on what happened to the rioters after they received their freedom. They grossly oversimplified the fate of the 322 men who came out to Van Diemen's Land on the *Proteus* and the *Eliza* - as well as those on the *Eleanor*.

Rudé concluded "It is almost certain that the great majority of the machine breakers lived out their lives as farmers and tradesmen, craftsmen, stockmen or labourers on the Island".<sup>23</sup> Perhaps this conclusion was the end result of the exhaustion brought about by attempting to unpack the fates of 460 men who were transported to New South Wales and Van Diemen's Land. In 1963, he admitted that he could only compile comprehensive biographies for a handful of former Van Diemen's Land machine breakers and he based his conclusions on this number.<sup>24</sup> These conclusions were carried through into his jointly authored work with Hobsbawm in 1969. The true picture of the fate of the 322 breakers on the *Proteus* and the *Eliza* is much more complex, and forms a major part of this thesis.

<sup>17</sup> M. Bassett, *The Hentys: An Australian Colonial Tapestry*, 1954, MUP, p. 208.

<sup>18</sup> I Wyatt, *Swing Rioters in Gloucestershire*, Gloucestershire Historical Studies, vii, (1976).

<sup>19</sup> D Kent and N Townsend, *The Convicts of the Eleanor*, London, 2002, p.127. In addition, in the district of Bryanston in Dorsetshire, over 2000 'pedestrian special constables' were sworn in, p.51.

<sup>20</sup> See, for example, J. Chambers, Appendix 5 to *Hampshire Machine Breakers*, Letchworth, 1996; also Hobsbawm and Rudé, *Captain Swing*, p.256. The typical reward was fifty pounds for a machine breaker and up to five hundred pounds for an incendiary.

<sup>21</sup> Hammonds, p.308.

<sup>22</sup> Hobsbawm and Rudé, p.14.

<sup>23</sup> Rudé, *Captain Swing* and VDL, p.19.

<sup>24</sup> *Ibid*, p.20.

There is some irony in the fact that Rudé refers to the Hammonds' citation of Hudson's statement in "*A Shepherd's Life*"<sup>25</sup> that, in the case of the agricultural convicts, "very few, not more than one in five or six, even returned". Rudé observed that this proportion seems inflated<sup>26</sup>, yet more recent research suggests that the figure is far from inflated and may be quite accurate.

Recently, two other historians have been researching the machine breakers, both in England and in Australia. In early 2002, *The Convicts of the Eleanor; Protest in Rural England, New Lives in Australia*<sup>27</sup> was published. The authors, David Kent and Norma Townsend, have made a particular study of the *Eleanor* and their book is the result of a number of years of research carried out in England and in New South Wales. Their joint research has also led to the authoring of *Joseph Mason: Assigned Convict*, Melbourne 1996, and *The Men of the Eleanor, 1831 The Great Circle*, vol.17, no.2, 1995. There are only the briefest of references in their book to the far more numerous machine breakers transported to Van Diemen's Land on the *Proteus* and the *Eliza* but it does provide some interesting comparative material for this thesis. In particular, the authors relied heavily on statistical information gleaned from New South Wales convict records, colonial land registers and marriage and birth records in developing a general picture of the lives of the *Eleanor* men. This research approach was of more practical value with respect to the *Eleanor* cargo because one of the major differences between them and their Van Diemen's Land counterparts is that, almost to a man, the *Eleanor* men spent their entire lives in the much larger and settled colony. Reliance on the equivalent records in Van Diemen's Land is less profitable because of the far greater dispersal of the *Proteus* and *Eliza* men.

In the past six years, much raw information about many of the machine breakers has been collected by the English researcher Jill Chambers for three of the affected counties, primarily as an aid to genealogists. This material does assist in compiling biographical details about rioters from some affected areas<sup>28</sup> - particularly their village life - but the books contain little if any analysis of the information that has been gathered. They do, however, provide information which supports Hudson's statement that perhaps as many as twenty per cent of the transported machine breakers may have been finally reunited with their families in England.

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<sup>25</sup> Hammonds, p. 247.

<sup>26</sup> Rudé, Captain Swing and VDL, p.18.

<sup>27</sup> D Kent and N Townsend, *The Convicts of the Eleanor; Protest in Rural England, New Lives in Australia*, London, 2002.

<sup>28</sup> J. Chambers, *Hampshire Machine Breakers, Wiltshire Machine Breakers, Buckinghamshire Machine Breakers and Rebels of the Field*, Letchworth 1991-1996.

## PART I

### THE BACKGROUND TO THE RIOTS

#### Agrarian Revolution and Radicalism

The agricultural riots of 1830 in the southern counties of England were primarily a conservative response to real distress being suffered by the participants. The specific causes of that distress could, on occasions, be completely different in two adjoining counties. As a result the nature of the outrages, and even the demographic background of the participants, could vary markedly over very short distances.<sup>29</sup>

Notwithstanding Stevenson's repetition of the warning that we should be careful of the "gross economic reductionism" represented by economic factors<sup>30</sup>, there is no doubt that economic factors did play a large part in the riots. They had a significant impact on the social climate in southern England, which contributed to the frustration and distress experienced by many of the rural poor.

Rudé once proposed that the social and political background to the riots was to be found in the years between Waterloo and the Great Reform Bill.<sup>31</sup> The causes are found further back though, well before the Napoleonic Wars. The Hammonds are correct to give importance to the process of enclosure, although it was not the final determinant, being only a response to a much more powerful set of forces with even earlier origins.

In the eighteenth century there began an agrarian revolution which slightly preceded the much better known Industrial Revolution. Agrarian methods underwent significant improvement in England as breeding and crop rotation methods became more sophisticated and even the greater use of bone-dust fertiliser made a significant difference to farm output.<sup>32</sup> For a long time, however, the structure of agriculture in the counties did not respond to this revolution:

These developments in the methods of farm production were a yeast trying to ferment a rather cold agrarian structure. The matrix of tenurial arrangements, farm-size distribution and field layout within which they acted did alter consistently in favour of large-scale production for the market, but comparatively slowly.<sup>33</sup>

Although the most obvious structural change brought about was enclosure, there were other factors that contributed to the riots in 1830 - and which help explain why they were generally confined to certain parts of the country. The first one of note is that the agricultural labourer in the southern counties stuck to his old ways for much longer

<sup>29</sup> Much of Rudé's work was aimed at showing that machine breaking involved a uniformly representative cross-section of the rural populace; this does not hold true when one focuses on, and compares, the disturbances in various counties.

<sup>30</sup> J. Stevenson, *Popular Disturbances in England 1700-1870*, Longman, 1979, p. 302.

<sup>31</sup> Rudé, *Captain Swing and VDL*, p.6.

<sup>32</sup> E.L. Jones, *Agriculture and the Industrial Revolution*, Oxford 1974, p. 92.

<sup>33</sup> *Ibid*, p.93.

than his counterparts in other rural areas. He was unusually conservative and this contributed to the even greater distress that was ultimately visited upon him, compared to the plight of labourers in other parts of England. Industry made only limited inroads into the countryside of the more fertile and productive southern counties during the late eighteenth and early nineteenth centuries. The incursion of industry was more successful in the agriculturally more marginal areas in the North and the Midlands. The diversification of northern labourers and their families into industries that now seem quaint - like straw plaiting, lace making and nailing - provided many of them with an economic buffer to withstand the rural distress that struck after the Napoleonic War and thus significantly reduced the likelihood of rural disturbances in those areas.<sup>34</sup>

The riots were not widespread, for example, in the less fertile Buckinghamshire, where paper mills had been established in the Wycombe Valley and labourers' wives had worked as lace makers for several generations to supplement the families' meagre household incomes.<sup>35</sup> By comparison the county of Wiltshire, with its extremely fertile soil, was the area most seriously affected in the riots.

The rural labourers in the southern counties also proved to be much less mobile than their contemporaries in the North and the Midlands, and were unwilling to leave the land for work in the new factories to the north:

Rural labour resisted being sucked into the industrial sector. Much of it remained immobilised and poor in southern and eastern England long after [the late eighteenth century]. Switching freely from skilled land work to skilled work in industry was hardly possible. A nineteenth century Wiltshire incumbent who saw both sides of the fence commented that 'indoor and outdoor habits, the loom and the plough, the shuttle and the sickle, the soft hand and the hard hand cannot be interchanged at pleasure.'<sup>36</sup>

This 'remarkably static population' in the southern counties<sup>37</sup> found itself severely underemployed by the 1830's. The cumulative image that is projected is of a deeply conservative group of labourers, reluctant to move from the soil or change their ways but confronted by a severe, growing employment crisis.

Unfortunately for the labourers, the world was changing around these men, as the yeast finally began to ferment the cold agrarian structure described by Jones.<sup>38</sup> Although the process of enclosure led to more efficient agriculture its most profound effect, as far as the agricultural labourer was concerned, was on the relationships between himself, the tenant farmer, and the landlord. There are countervailing arguments as to whether enclosure precipitated the proletarianisation of the agricultural labourer or merely hastened an already established process that was

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<sup>34</sup> Ibid, pp 131/132.

<sup>35</sup> But Kent and Townsend have noted that even the capacity of wives (and children) to supplement the household income was deteriorating rapidly by 1830 as mechanisation made inroads into rural based industries; Kent and Townsend, *The Convicts of the Eleanor*, p.64.

<sup>36</sup> E.L. Jones, *Agriculture and the Industrial Revolution*, p. 101.

<sup>37</sup> Ibid, p. 215.

<sup>38</sup> Ibid, p.93.

inexorably leading to the same conclusion,<sup>39</sup> but the important result for the purposes of this thesis is that, over time, the relationship did change.

Although the traditional pyramidal structure in the countryside appeared to have continued as it had for centuries, the relationship between the participants within that structure had evolved into something very different by the time of the riots. There were still a small number of large landholders at the apex, dominated by the aristocracy and the Church. Often they rented out their properties in allotments to a much larger number of tenant farmers. The tenant farmers usually had a pool of farm labourers, some of whom were employed more or less full time, but most labour was now hired and fired as the rhythms of the seasons dictated. Enclosure meant that these labourers were now also completely wage-dependent because they could not run their own stock or grow crops on the commons any longer. This economic dependence was exacerbated in the fertile counties of the south and east, where domestic rural manufacturing had made few inroads.

One of the more subtle changes that this brought about was the weakening - and in many cases the complete severing - of the traditional paternal interest that landowners took in the welfare of their tenants and their workers. Whereas in the eighteenth century it was not uncommon for landowners to reduce tithes during times of recession their readiness to do so was less noticeable by the 1830's. More impersonal labour relations in farming had arrived.

Hobsbawm and Rudé summed up the situation:

What happened was ... that a rural society which was in some senses traditional, hierarchical, paternalistic, and in many respects resistant to the full logic of the market, was transformed under the impetus of the extraordinary agricultural boom (and the subsequent though temporary recessions) into one in which the cash-nexus prevailed, at least between farmer and labourer. The worker was simultaneously proletarianised, by the loss of land, by the transformation of his contract and in other ways - and deprived of those modest customary rights as a man (though a subordinate one) to which he felt himself to have a claim. This happened at a time when his economic situation deteriorated sharply. He became not merely a full proletarian, but an under-employed pauperised one, and indeed by the time of the 1830 rising he retained little of his former status except the right to parish relief, though even this was to be withdrawn from him within a few years. Yet he was a proletarian only in the most general economic sense. In practice the nature of his labour, and of the rural society in which he lived and starved, deprived him even of the relative freedom of the urban and industrial poor, and certainly made it difficult for him to develop or to apply those ideas and methods of collective self-defence which the townsman was able to discover.<sup>40</sup>

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<sup>39</sup> See, for example, the various arguments canvassed by Jones (ibid) at p. 101, and the views of Hobsbawm and Rudé in *Captain Swing*, at p.15.

<sup>40</sup> Hobsbawm and Rudé, p.15.

Recently, historians' attention has focussed on the break up of the old village structure, and the development of "open" and "closed" villages in the southern counties as a consequence of enclosure as a possible factor helping to explain why the riots were not uniformly spread throughout the disturbed districts. Closed villages were settlements which remained under the care and influence of a major land owner, whereas open villages were larger and had no single patron. It is argued that the closed village, with its structure more akin to the personal relationship between peasant and lord of a by-gone era and which reinforced deference to the lord,<sup>41</sup> showed few signs of protest during the riots. The open villages on the other hand with their widespread opposition to church and lord, were identified by Hobsbawm and Rudé and Stevenson as centres of the riots.<sup>42</sup>

The Speenhamland System, under which farm wages were supplemented from county rates, was another contributing factor in the social unrest which followed. The system had spread generally to the southern counties from Berkshire where it had its origins in 1795.<sup>43</sup> It was not a direct major cause of the riots, but the system had the effect of keeping wages artificially low and the requirement to pay rates and tithes was an annoyance to ratepayers. The haphazard nature in which the system was implemented in different parishes often led to localised pockets of real distress.<sup>44</sup> The most tragic pictures of the despair experienced by rural workers at this time were often painted with a reference to the system. West, for example, wrote:

Agricultural labourers were driven from town to town: offered by auction at two-pence a day: harnessed to gravel carts: mocked by being sent with a barley straw fifteen miles a day: imprisoned in pits, and kept standing morning after morning in a public pound. Such were the scenes which induced Horton to lecture through the country on redundant population and emigration; and to call the attention of the parliament to the march of poverty, pauperism, tyranny, and crime.<sup>45</sup>

In relation to this passage, Shaw made the comment "Though agricultural labourers were poorly paid, and many were in great distress, this description is grossly exaggerated".<sup>46</sup> The truth may in fact lie somewhere between these two views; Robson, for example, noted the extreme degradation of the Bedfordshire labourers of a few years earlier, where all the unemployed were lined up in villages each Monday morning for the farmers to bid for their services - a phenomenon similar to that described by West. He made the observation "Such was one result of paying wages out of the poor-rate."<sup>47</sup>

<sup>41</sup> D.J.V. Jones, *The Poacher; A Study in Victorian Crime and Protest*, *Historical Journal*, vol.22, No.4, 1979, at p.840; Hobsbawm and Rudé, p.158; and Stevenson, pp. 240/241.

<sup>42</sup> Hobsbawm and Rudé, p. 158, Stevenson, p. 240. Cf Muskett, who believes there was no marked distinction between closed and open villages in the distribution of rioters; P. Muskett, *The East Anglian Agrarian Riots of 1822*, *Agricultural History Review*, Vol. 32 (1984), p 11.

<sup>43</sup> Rudé, *Captain Swing and VDL*, p. 7.

<sup>44</sup> Hammonds, p. 253.

<sup>45</sup> J. West, *The History of Tasmania*, ed. by A.G.L. Shaw, Angus & Robertson 1981, p.117.

<sup>46</sup> *Ibid*, Reference Notes, note 120, p.586.

<sup>47</sup> L Robson, *The Convict Settlers in Australia*, Melbourne, 1965, p.20. See also J Stevenson, *Popular Disturbances in England 1700 - 1870*, Longman 1979 at p. 237. where Stevenson made similar

Perhaps what is more significant about the system is that it was regarded as degrading in a personal sense by the conservative rural workers, reducing them to no more than paupers. This reinforced the view of many labourers that, if they were paid a fair wage in the first place, then such a demeaning system would not be necessary. Not surprisingly the workhouses, which symbolized the system, became a target of the disaffection in some areas during the riots.

The widespread rural unrest which occurred in 1830 had probably been deferred by the Napoleonic Wars, which drained large numbers of able-bodied men out of the southern counties and created a labour shortage which saw wages remain high. From 1815 onwards, however, the agricultural economy of England was subject to more conventional market forces.

The twenty years after Waterloo were marked by a series of slumps and recoveries in the agricultural sector of England. In part this was due to the return to a more normal Continental economy and market,<sup>48</sup> and the increasing vagaries of the English weather. Landlords were less willing than in the past to reduce tithes or rents during bad seasons or when crop prices were low, and the tenant farmers had to make choices as to how they made up the shortfall. One option open to the farmer was simply for his family to do more of the work, and to employ less labour. This was a common response by the smaller tenant farmers. A growing number also simply made greater use of mechanisation. The effect of these solutions was to either reduce the wages of the labourers they employed or to reduce the number being employed.

The increasing efficiency of the English agricultural system also meant that not only were fewer labourers required in absolute figures, but that the seasonal work was disappearing also. Although there was always a small excess of labour demand over supply during the ploughing and reaping seasons, the most severe time for the labourer was during winter when the fields were left fallow. Traditionally the prime source of employment for the labourer during this time was threshing wheat. But the increasing economic pressure on farmers was such that more of them were now introducing threshing machines to complete this task. An annual influx of rootless labourers from Ireland, Scotland and Wales into the southern counties, although not in overwhelming numbers, exacerbated the unemployment situation for the English labourers.<sup>49</sup>

The increasing efficiency of agriculture could logically have only one effect on the rural workers:

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references to the hiring out of unemployed rural labourers at knock-down wages by Poor Law officials in other counties.

<sup>48</sup> "With the fall of Napoleon fell the ringfence of English agriculture", E. Halevy, *The Liberal Awakening*, London, 1923. Prices being received for wheat at the time of the Swing riots were 35% less than what was being received during the Napoleonic Wars. Kent and Townsend, *The Convicts of the Eleanor*, p.59.

<sup>49</sup> E.L. Jones, *The Agricultural Labour Market in England, 1793-1872*, *Economic History Review*, 17, 1965, p.322 at 326.

Whereas the per acre yield of wheat, for instance, rose by sixteen per cent from 1815/19 to 1832/36, the labour force in agriculture grew at most by 2.7%. The increased employment was insufficient fully to absorb the continued growth of a remarkably static rural population, and the emergence of a serious, although mainly seasonal, surplus of labour which depressed the annual wage to distressingly low levels hardly needs to be rehearsed ... The problem and the resultant strains on systems of poor law administration was most severe in the south and east, where the gradual extension of the use of threshing machines, although slowed by the cheapness of labour for threshing by flail, enabled farmers to stand off more and more of their men for longer and longer through the winter, just when the men's needs for fuel, food and clothing were greatest.<sup>50</sup>

Threshing machines were not in fact a recent innovation. They had been used since 1796 and were very common during the Napoleonic Wars when labour was scarce but disappeared briefly when demobilisation produced a large pool of cheap rural labour. Not surprisingly, their appearance and disappearance in the post-war years ebbed and flowed in sympathy with the state of the rural economy. In general, their use was growing by the late 1820's – although their continuing high unit cost meant their utilisation was still restricted mainly to the larger tenant farms.

Rural unrest in the southern and eastern counties was not isolated to the winter of 1830; there had been a number of outbreaks after the wars:

Years like 1816, 1830-32, 1835-36 were exceptional only in the amount of violence that took place. No year in the first half of the nineteenth century was a quiet year in the east. Every year was violent, and the amount of violence that took place was very great indeed.<sup>51</sup>

The most influential and frequently quoted analysis of this phenomenon is the "social tension chart" developed by Professor W W Rostow for the period 1790-1850.<sup>52</sup> This chart was constructed from the movement of wheat prices and the fluctuations of the trade cycle between 1790 and 1850. It is perhaps no coincidence that the years 1829 and 1830 represent the highest peaks on the social tension chart. The second highest peaks were registered in 1816 and 1822.

The rural disturbances that accompanied the lesser peaks in 1816 and 1822 were kinds of small scale rehearsals for the much more widespread outbreaks of 1830, and similarly represented evolutionary steps in the shaping of rural protest and activism. Both disturbances had their origins in the south eastern counties – as did the disturbances of 1830.

<sup>50</sup> E.L. Jones, *Agriculture and the Industrial Revolution*, p.215. See also E.L Jones, *The Agricultural Labour Market in England, 1793-1872*, *Economic History Review*, vol 17, 1965, p. 322 at 325.

<sup>51</sup> A.J. Peacock, *Village Radicalism in East Anglia*, in J.P. Dunbabin (ed) *Rural Discontent in Nineteenth Century Britain*, 1975, London p. 39.

<sup>52</sup> W.W. Rostow, *British Economy of the Nineteenth Century*, Oxford, p.124. Referred to by Rudé in *The Crowd in History* at p. 150 and Stevenson at p. 302.



The East Anglian riots of 1816 were centred on Ely, Littleport, and Downham Market. Traditionally, English rural unrest had rarely ever been concerned with food or the price of bread; agricultural labourers usually had more alternative sources of food available to them (including poaching) than their urban counterparts and it is believed the Speenhamland system operated to cushion them from the more extreme rises that occurred in the price of food.<sup>53</sup> In 1816, however, the price of bread became a major issue for the agricultural labourers of East Anglia. That year, there had been a harvest failure and an outbreak of high food prices (for bread in particular) in the south east. The end of the Napoleonic War and the shifts in the Agricultural Revolution had created a particularly large population of poor rural wage earners in the eastern counties, living in populous 'open' parishes. The plight of these rural labourers was not dissimilar to that of their urban manufacturing counterparts, the Luddites. Food riots involving rural labourers as well as women and children from the towns ensued. These disturbances were centred on a number of market towns but the rural labourers also called for higher wages and, for the first time, protested against the threshing machines which they believed were contributing to their woes.<sup>54</sup>

The 1816 riots had some characteristics of the rural unrest experienced in 1830 but they also demonstrated some characteristics more usually identified either in Luddism or in urban food riots. The disturbances represented a confusing transition between the declining frequency of food riots and Luddism on the one hand, and the defining characteristics of rural machine breaking and incendiarism on the other.

Luddism was the urban precedent for rural machine breaking and it had its origins in the Midlands and the North in 1811. The main group of rioters were workers in the stocking industry who were concerned about losing their livelihood because of the increasing use of stocking frames in Nottingham in particular. The unrest quickly spread to Yorkshire, Lancashire, Leicestershire and Derbyshire. Although having some characteristics in common with the later rural machine breakers, the Luddites were often more violent, and much of their frame breaking was done at night by armed groups who threatened or restrained the factory owners. The unrest was also more co-ordinated, with Luddite organisers going from town to town and using secret signs to contact their sympathisers in the streets. Oaths were administered to many of the rioters. Eventually, the passing of the Frame Breaking Act in 1812 and the active campaigning of Lieutenant General Thomas Maitland and 35,000 yeomanry and troops brought an end to most of the disturbances by the end of 1812.<sup>55</sup>

Although not as widespread, the 1816 riots in the eastern counties were much more frightening than those in 1830; whereas in the later disturbances many farmers received hollow threats of bodily harm, in 1816 those threats were frequently carried out and many farmhouses as well as village shopfronts were ransacked. More serious instances of extortion and robbery of shopkeepers and farmers occurred, and publicans

<sup>53</sup> J Stevenson, *Food Riots in England, 1792 – 1818*, at p. 48 in D Phillips (ed), *Popular Protest and Public Order, Six Studies in British History*, London 1974.

<sup>54</sup> In Essex and Suffolk, the labourers also protested against the use of mole ploughs, which were proving to be very effective at draining the heavy soils in those counties – A J Peacock, *Bread or Blood, A Study of the Agrarian Riots in East Anglia, 1816*, London 1965, pp.70 and 73.

<sup>55</sup> R Reid, *Land of Lost Content: the Luddite Revolt 1812*, London 1986, Rudé, *Protest and Punishment*, p.124. .

were also targeted with demands for the price of the staple beer to be reduced to tuppence a pint.

As in the 1830 riots, the majority of the rioters were rural labourers, aged in their late twenties or early thirties, with families. They also exhibited some of the ritualistic elements that were to be found in the later 1830 riots, with the appointment of 'captains' to lead them in marching columns through towns or villages behind banners and flags. The loud demands for the reduction in the price of food and the relative violence of the disturbances, however, were what distinguished these confusing affairs from the Swing riots of 1830.

In light of the violence, it is surprising that the authorities reacted in a comparatively restrained manner. Large bodies of volunteer special constables were sworn into office and they quickly restored order. Only eighty men were then arraigned before a special assize at Ely; five were eventually hung and nineteen were sentenced to transportation, although only seven ever left the shores of England.<sup>56</sup>

There were two groups represented in the assize lists who also figured prominently in the 1830 riots because the authorities regarded them as the dangerous leaders of the rural poor, but who were thought to have no real reason to complain of their lot.<sup>57</sup>

The first were rural tradesmen; twenty of the eighty prisoners were cobblers, bricklayers, tailors, blacksmiths, and carpenters. Another twenty were labourers who had small holdings – perhaps a couple of acres, a cottage garden or a few cows. These latter men thereby qualified as farmers in the eyes of the authorities. Ironically, most of these 'farmers' were men who suffered the worst of both worlds; their small holdings were insufficient to survive on, but also denied them eligibility for Poor Law relief. On an individual basis, their distress could have been even greater than that suffered by many of the landless labourers.<sup>58</sup>

The relatively concentrated presence on the assize lists of tradesmen and small farmers reflects the fact that the authorities were far more interested in dealing with the men they perceived to be the ringleaders and those offenders with little justification for their actions. They could have arraigned far more of the ordinary rioters if they desired because some of the disturbances involved crowds of more than 200 agricultural labourers. Following the 1830 disturbances, far wider nets were cast to catch as many of these kinds of participants as possible – eventually numbering in the thousands.

Unlike the 1830's disturbances all those ultimately transported for their parts in the riots were men who had been found guilty of the more serious crimes of outright stealing or robbery, rather than machine breaking.

Those relatively few labourers who were arraigned before the Special Assize of 1816 for machine breaking were dealt with more far leniently by the court than their 1830

<sup>56</sup> Rudé, *Protest and Punishment*, p.13.

<sup>57</sup> There was in fact no co-ordinating leadership present in the riots of 1816; most disturbances were localised in their effect - A. J. Peacock, *Bread or Blood*, p.52.

<sup>58</sup> Ibid, pp. 49 – 52.

counterparts would be. One barrister represented most of them. He was the diarist Henry Crabb Robinson:

*July 23<sup>rd</sup>* – (At Bury) This day was spent in court from ten to half-past five. It was occupied in the trial of several sets of rioters, the defence of whom Leach brought me....I succeeded in getting off some individuals who would otherwise have been convicted. In the trial of fifteen Stoke rioters, who broke a threshing machine, I made a rather long speech, but with little effect. All were convicted but two, against whom no evidence was brought. I urged that the evidence of mere presence against four others was not sufficient to convict them; and had not the jury been very stupid, and the foreman quite incompetent, there would have been an acquittal.

On the trial of five rioters at Clare, I submitted to the conviction of four. One was acquitted.

On the trial of six rioters at Hunden, three were convicted, for they were proved to have taken an active share in destroying the threshing machine. Alderson<sup>59</sup>, who conducted all the prosecutions, consented to acquit one, and two others were acquitted because the one witness who swore to more than mere presence was contradicted by two witnesses I called, though the contradiction was not of the most pleasing kind.

*July 24<sup>th</sup>* – I was in court from ten o'clock to three. The Rattlesden rioters, thirty in number, were tried. All were convicted except four, whom Alderson consented to discharge, and one who proved that he was compelled to join the rioters....I made some general observations on behalf of the prisoners, and the Bench, having sentenced one to two year's imprisonment, and others to one year and six month's imprisonment, dismissed the greater number on their finding security for their good behaviour.<sup>60</sup>

The reason for the relatively mild response of the Bench may be due to the fact that the 'contagion' was successfully contained to a small corner of the eastern counties and did not seep westwards.

The next major rural outbreak in 1822 also had its origins in East Anglia and demonstrates the shift in emphasis for rural labourers away from bread and beer towards threshing machines and incendiarism as well as a stiffening of resolve upon the part of the authorities.

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<sup>59</sup> The barrister Edward Alderson later became Baron Alderson, a famous Judge of the Exchequer. (*Dictionary of National Biography*, London 1883, vol 1). Although a very conservative lawyer and judge, he had a reputation from an early age as a man who had a desire to restrict the use of capital punishment. His fortuitous appointment as prosecuting counsel for the 1816 Riots probably contributed to the severity of the sentences being kept to a minimum. He went on to serve on one of the Special Commissions established to deal with the Swing rioters in 1831.

<sup>60</sup> T Sadler (ed) *Diary, Reminiscences, and Correspondence of Henry Crabb Robinson, Barrister at Law*, Vol II, London Macmillan & Co 1869, p.13 et seq.

The disturbances arose out of what was to become a familiar sequence of events in the coming years:

- (a) In 1821, low wheat prices led to the reintroduction of threshing machines and the reduction of labourers' wages to as low as ninepence a day;
- (b) Reports of crimes relating to property and poaching rose dramatically;
- (c) In the last month of 1821, severe weather played havoc with the harvest, and the sodden state of the ground caused by the rain and gales in November and December prevented sowing and even proper fallowing;
- (d) Isolated reports of incendiarism began to filter in to the authorities from December onwards.<sup>61</sup>

In early 1822, the labourers of East Anglia fixed their attention on the threshing machines, which were blamed for causing the local glut of labour. The machine breaking commenced in mid February, and reached its peak a fortnight later. Not all the implements destroyed were threshing machines - seed drills and dressing machines also figured in the reports. A feature of the "outrages" was the way in which the participants often believed they were acting in a just cause and adopted ritualistic processes, steeped in the traditions of English village life. On occasions, for example, machines were carried in procession from the farms by groups of labourers before being broken up ceremonially in the village squares. Although many farmers acquiesced in the destruction of the machines, the occasional display of resistance was met fiercely by the labourers. Fear of the spread of the outrages led to the drafting of large numbers of special constables and the moving of cavalry dragoons into the affected areas. The drafting of special constables in large numbers from the villages where the riots originated was carried out with relative ease - suggesting less than unanimous support for the disturbances among the locals. Evidence was never found of central control to the outrages and leadership apparently remained very localised.

In those villages or areas where conciliatory measures were taken by farmers or landlords, the riots died very quickly - a lesson not taken to heart, unfortunately. Muskett has observed - "A willingness to adopt this stratagem might have terminated the riots throughout the border region, but the authorities were alarmed and tended to think more in terms of repression than concession."<sup>62</sup>

The media had been sympathetic to the plight of the labourer, but were hostile in their reporting of the outrages. Accusations were made that the guileless labourers had been stirred up by political incendiaries - who remained nameless and faceless. It was also reported that some of the rioters were not in fact distressed labourers, but comparatively well paid workers or tradesmen who could not be affected by the use of the machines. Although only two were sentenced to death and none were transported, there was little consistency in the punishment meted out to these early machine breakers by the courts. It was noted that the tradesmen or farmers among the convicted were likely to receive harsher sentences because the courts felt they had no excuse for their actions. There was even inconsistency between the sentences handed

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<sup>61</sup> P. Muskett, *The East Anglian Agrarian Riots of 1822*, *Agricultural History Review*, Vol 32, (1984), pp 2-4.

<sup>62</sup> Muskett, p. 6.

down by the different benches and the general severity of sentences appeared to reflect the state of unrest in the countryside at the time the individual rioter was sentenced:

The Suffolk magistrates were more lenient than their Norfolk counterparts and the justices appeared to be less severe than the judges, but an important factor was the precise times at which the different riots took place. If the attacks occurred during a time of general unrest, as in February, March and April 1822, there was a far greater chance of heavier penalties being incurred. The same pattern was apparent in 1815/1816.<sup>63</sup>

There is one major distinction between the East Anglian riots of 1822 and the more general riots of 1830; in the former, rioters were almost single-minded in their determination to stop the use of machinery by effecting its destruction whereas in the latter there are a number of forms which the outrages took - including extortion, incendiarism, destruction of factories and workhouses, and even the maiming of stock.

Although the machine breaking and rioting was restricted to the eastern counties in 1816 and 1822, the scene had been set for a westward spreading of the unrest on the next occasion that the combination of weather, crop prices and high unemployment caused a peak on Rostow's social tension chart. This occurred in late 1830.

It is difficult to assess whether political events both internally and externally to England also played a major role in the causes of the 1830 riots. Rudé notes<sup>64</sup> that there was a revolutionary excitement in the Continent in 1830 - particularly after the Paris July riots, but "how far the revolutionary fervour of the French touched the English rural population it would be hard to establish without considerable further enquiry".<sup>65</sup> He refers to the enthusiasm of Halevy and Wakefield for finding political roots to the disturbances, but to him, the evidence appears slim.

There is no doubt that events on the Continent were receiving significant column space in the English newspapers at this time. Even provincial newspapers like the *Hampshire Telegraph (and Sussex Chronicle)*, for example, carried lengthy reports from July onwards about the Paris riots. In late August, those reports were followed by news of similar unrest in Spain; in September, news of a revolution in Brussels was being published, followed by similar unrest in the Netherlands shortly afterwards.

More recent work by historians has unearthed some pockets where radicals were active before and during the riots. Central Hampshire, for example, has been identified as an area where a small group of educated working men, well versed in the works of William Cobbett, were active in the riots and attempted to give them a tone of radicalism. The Mason brothers were small farmers who engaged in rural activism and did provide very localised leadership in Central Hampshire to agricultural labourers during the riots<sup>66</sup> but it appears their influence was limited to a handful of

<sup>63</sup> Ibid, p. 9.

<sup>64</sup> Rudé, *Captain Swing and VDL*, pp. 7 and 8.

<sup>65</sup> Ibid.

<sup>66</sup> D. Kent and N. Townsend (eds), *Joseph Mason; Assigned Convict*, MUP, 1996. See also D. Kent, *Popular Radicalism and the Swing Riots in Central Hampshire*, Hampshire Paper Series, No. 11, May 1997.

small hamlets in the Dever Valley. Kent and others<sup>67</sup> have more recently argued there was a small but significant element of radicalism among the artisans and tenant farmers in other scattered parishes who supported and often took a leading role in the disturbances, so the political element cannot be discounted as a cause of the riots in some areas. But how significant a factor it was in the patchwork quilt of unrest which erupted in late 1830, as compared to other more immediate factors such as the need to put food on the family table, is still debatable.

Clearly, attempts were made by some rural radicals to give the disturbances a political air, but their efforts were generally unsuccessful. It is worthwhile to consider, for example, a rally of agricultural labourers held in Maidstone, Kent in late October. At one end of town, the local magistrates met to discuss various measures to address the labourers' unrest while nearby, on Penenden Heath, a crowd of almost a thousand agricultural labourers gathered from Tharnham and the neighbouring villages to protest at their conditions. Unknown parties had arranged for a large placard to be placed where the labourers assembled: "Reform the Commons House, Right of vote for all men of 21 years of age, Vote by ballot, Annual or two year's Parliament. These rights and privileges or nothing." This early Chartist placard must have seemed oddly out of place to the assembled agricultural labourers, who ignored these issues to talk about more immediate concerns like their wages. Of the labourers who attended the meeting, the local press reported "Their appearance was in the extreme of wretchedness."<sup>68</sup> Occasionally over the following two months, newspaper reports would appear making reference to stories of sightings of the *tricolore* in some villages,<sup>69</sup> but all these stories are unconfirmed third hand reports from anonymous persons. It is most likely that, on the very few occasions when the *tricolore* was actually waved at the head of a procession of agricultural labourers during the Swing riots, its appearance was emotive rather than a political statement, and the flag had little to do with the demands of the labourers.

Even the agitation surrounding the Great Reform Bill appears to have passed by most of the rural villages.

Although there was a surplus of political seeds at the time, and no shortage of sowers, therefore, it appears that few seeds fell in fertile country soil. In general, politics were outside the ken of the village labourer:

While the disturbances were in part generated by political excitement, the labourers showed few political aims. Their horizons were largely bounded by the world of the parish, or at most, the county; references to parliament show little real awareness of the political struggles going on in the county.<sup>70</sup>

The radical pauper press was not a significant influence either. The publishers had an ongoing problem getting their newspapers circulated outside London. Their only success by 1831 had been in the more industrialised northern and midlands counties:

<sup>67</sup> D. Kent, *Popular Radicalism and The Swing Riots in Central Hampshire*, p.3 and references therein.

<sup>68</sup> *Hampshire Telegraph*, 8 November 1830.

<sup>69</sup> E.g., *Hampshire Telegraph*, 1 November 1830, with reports of sightings of the *tricolore* in Stockbury, Kent and the Potteries in Staffordshire.

<sup>70</sup> Stevenson, p.242.

Rural apathy worried the London proprietors. Part of it was due to the bad communications which had inhibited Cobbett's sales five years before; still more was due to the lower level of literacy in the country; but some of it was also due to the non-political cast of mind with which the Chartist missionaries had to battle in the 1840's.<sup>71</sup>

In one major respect, the overwhelming majority of the pauper newspapers were at odds with the views of the average agricultural labourer in any event. Radical urban editors viewed the introduction of machinery as the means of cheap production, increased employment and the reduction of drudgery for the working class.<sup>72</sup> As the 1830 riots demonstrated, many of the rural labourers still viewed machinery itself as the evil which needed to be smashed.

Although the pauper press went on to report the riots in great detail in their newspapers it appears that radicalism, or at least the radical press, was not a factor of significance behind the riots. Their influence was localised at best. But this did not stop the authorities from overestimating the influence of the pauper press in the ensuing riots:

Rural magistrates had objected to the publications of the years around 1819 because they were 'infidel' and because they undermined rural order ... In the early 1830's radical papers not only disturbed rural peace, but, in the eyes of the justices, they were responsible for a more heinous crime - that of encouraging the labourers to take economic revenge for their economic ills. Carpenter, Carlile and Cobbett had obviously incited rick burning, the smashing of agricultural machinery, and the activities of 'Swing', because their papers had predated the disturbances by only a month or so. In vain did Carlile show that all the copies of the *Prompter* were absorbed by London and the northern manufacturing towns, and that it was impossible for his writings to circulate in Kent and Suffolk. He was sentenced to two years' imprisonment.<sup>73</sup>

Cobbett was also prosecuted for seditious libel. As part of his defence Cobbett had to establish that in fact his articles had not influenced the rural workers - particularly Thomas Goodman - to riot. This he did<sup>74</sup>; the jury failed to reach a verdict and the Home Office dropped the case. There was in fact little evidence that Cobbett played a crucial role in the disturbances. He had toured the south-east to lecture in various towns during October 1830 (which is when Goodman claimed he was inflamed by Cobbett) but the riots were already well established in that area before he arrived.<sup>75</sup>

### **A Possible Link Between Poaching and the Riots?**

<sup>71</sup> P. Hollis, *The Pauper Press*, London, 1970, p.111, referring to the London based proprietors of the radical newspapers.

<sup>72</sup> Ibid, p. 235.

<sup>73</sup> Hammonds, p. 319.

<sup>74</sup> Ibid

<sup>75</sup> Stevenson, p. 242.

There are various interpretations that can be placed on the increase in poaching in the years leading up to the riots and the propensity of certain villages to be involved in the disturbances.<sup>76</sup> One logical view is that poaching grew as the economic distress of the agricultural labourer led him to commit breaches of the Game Laws in order to feed his family. It would not be surprising, therefore, if there were some correlation between the notoriety of particular "poaching" villages and their involvement in the riots. Jones also draws a link between open villages and the incidence of poaching. He believed that in open villages, which were outside the care and influence of a single major landowner, there were fewer charity and allotment schemes to mitigate hardship or instil deference and so poaching was more common<sup>77</sup> and rioting more likely in the winter of 1830. There are others who see the poacher as a kind of "social bandit" who turns to the crime as a form of protest. Under this view, also, it would not be surprising if a link were found between poaching villages and the riots, because the latter were also a form of protest.

But there are many anomalies. The records do not throw up any known or reputed poachers as leaders of any of the riots or even as spokesmen for the groups, making their demands known to the farmers, which might have been expected if the poacher were an active protester. In common with other social protests in England and on the Continent, the leaders tended to be craftsmen, small farmers, and a few religious non-conformists. None of those in the forefront of the disturbances were recorded as having been previously convicted of poaching. Perhaps at best the poachers were not the captains but were instead the sergeants and corporals in the riots; the ones who were first to follow the leaders out of the village pubs, but who have otherwise succeeded in maintaining an air of anonymity in history.

Although the social bandit model of poaching cannot be discounted, it would appear the major factor driving the agricultural labourer to poach was his immediate economic distress and the need to feed himself and his family - the same factors which drove most of the labourers to join the 1830 riots as well. Some simple statistics bear this out.

The Wiltshire men represent the largest contingent of machine breakers transported to Van Diemens Land from all the counties. A breakdown of convictions for poaching or poaching related offences (primarily trespass, which was generally regarded as the equivalent of attempted poaching) in respect of the Wiltshire men transported on the *Proteus* and the *Eliza* produces the following results:

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<sup>76</sup> Any discussion about the incidence or influence of poaching in England always has to be undertaken subject to the reservation that statistics about poaching are not highly reliable. Many poachers brought before the courts, for example, were charged with technical offences that masked the true nature of the offence, or were dealt with very leniently by juries. Summary trials were therefore far more common than assizes, and even then, the lower court imposed far less harsh penalties in those cases where poaching was established. Although poaching is popularly regarded as a common crime which led to transportation, the convicted poacher represents less than one quarter of one percent of all transportees. A.G.L. Shaw, *Convicts and the Colonies*, p.157.

<sup>77</sup> D.J.V. Jones, *The Poacher; A Study in Victorian Crime and Protest*. *Historical Journal*, vol. 22, No.4, 1979, p. 840.



**TABLE 1**  
**CONVICTION LEVELS FOR POACHING**  
**AMONGST WILTSHIRE RIOTERS**

Not Married	Married/ No children	Married/ one child	Married/ two children	Married/ three children	Married/ four children	Married/ five children	Married/ more than five
6 of 54	1 of 6	1 of 11	3 of 8	5 of 12	1 of 6	4 of 7	7 of 9
(1 in 9)							

Although the statistical sample is obviously quite small, the general trend is that the larger the family a labourer was supporting, the more likely he was to have committed poaching. In addition, only two of the above transportees convicted of poaching in Wiltshire were village tradesmen - an unmarried twenty five year old shoemaker named Robert Blake (who became a wealthy pastoralist on the Central Plateau) and a married thirty year old carpenter/joiner named Robert Willoughby (who returned to England after receiving a free pardon). All the rest were ploughmen and farm labourers at the bottom of the rural economic scale. These crude but quite dramatic statistics support the view that poaching - in Wiltshire at least - was primarily driven by economic distress.

Perhaps there is one link between poaching and the riots in that the repressive nature of the Game Laws and their more zealous enforcement in the year or two before the riots would have restricted the opportunity for the labourer to supplement the meal table for his family at a time when wages were low or work was non-existent. This curtailment of a customary, albeit illegal, means of providing food for the marginal family would have increased the distress and frustration of the labourer and would have been more likely to lead him to join in any social disturbances which occurred at that time:

Poaching was always a barometer of economic distress, but it was also a potent source of social antagonism and contributed significantly to the growing confrontation between privilege and poverty.<sup>78</sup>

<sup>78</sup> Kent and Townsend, *The Convicts of the Eleanor*, p.120.

## PART 2

### THE RIOTS AND THE TRIALS

Writing in 1974, Hobsbawm doubted whether there could ever be a truly national peasant movement or uprising - primarily because of the restricting boundaries of the "little world" of the peasant:

Local and regional action, which is the norm, turns into wider action only by external force - natural, economic, political or ideological - and only when a very large number of communities or villages are simultaneously moved in much the same direction ... it will be less a single general movement than a conglomerate of local and regional movements whose unity is momentary and fragile.<sup>79</sup>

Indeed, although the 1830 riots gave the superficial appearance of a major uprising, the peasant's small world in southern England did not encompass such a feat. The disturbances were in truth a conglomeration of temporary regional movements, any one of which rarely covered more than two or three villages and which commonly lasted no more than a week or so in any particular district.

The ravaged rural economy had left many labourers in a distressed state by the late autumn of 1830; Rostow's chart demonstrates that social tensions had reached their peak in the country that year. Following a second extremely wet summer, 1830 marked the third bad harvest in southern England. Pastoral industries also had suffered; at the beginning of October 1830, heavy early falls of snow caused further significant losses among sheep and cattle. Foot rot had been prevalent and that winter up to 2,000,000 sheep are said to have perished.<sup>80</sup> Melancholy proof of the distressed state among the small tenant farmers and their labourers was provided by the fact that the entire parish of Wooton Underwood in Buckinghamshire, comprising some 2300 acres and owned by the Duke of Buckingham, was advertised to be let - all tenants having either left or given notice to quit.<sup>81</sup>

The spark for the riots which ensued was the decision by many farmers to use threshing machines that winter to save costs. In previous years, the relatively high cost of threshing machines had meant their use was restricted to the larger tenant farmers. At the end of the spring of 1829, however, the Rider Portable Threshing Machine made its appearance. This lightweight, portable threshing machine had been developed by a mechanic/farmer in the parish of Westbury in Wiltshire, and its price was set at between eight and ten pounds. Such a low price brought the machine

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<sup>79</sup> E J Hobsbawm, *Peasants and Politics*, *Journal of Peasant Studies* vol.1, No.3, 1974, pp.3-22.

<sup>80</sup> B Croucher, *The Village in the Valley: A History of Ramsbury* 1986, p.145. See also M. Bassett, *The Hentys: An Australian Colonial Tapestry*, 1954, p.207.

<sup>81</sup> *Hampshire Telegraph*, 25 October 1830.

within the reach of the smaller tenant farmers and the incidence of threshing machines increased rapidly in the southern agricultural counties, particularly Wiltshire.<sup>82</sup>

This economically rational step taken by tenant farmers would deprive many agricultural labourers of the only winter time labour they could hope to secure. The situation was exacerbated by the fact that the Poor Law allowances - themselves a demeaning feature in the eyes of the conservative rural labourer - had already been significantly reduced in many counties that autumn. The reduction in Hampshire was typical:

Not only was relief harder to obtain, it was worth much less. In 1822 the Winchester magistrates, whose rates determined the county standard, reduced the allowance of bread by 20% and in the autumn of 1830 the rate was cut again. In the villages near Andover the male allowance was reduced to a quarter loaf per day which was effectively half the minimum allowance recommended by the Speenhamland magistrates in 1795.<sup>83</sup>

The threshing machines were first unpacked in the south-eastern counties and the earliest instances of machine breaking occurred on 28 August 1830 near Canterbury in Kent. This was followed by a handful of machine breaking episodes in scattered villages over the next fortnight, but nothing of great moment. The ensuing lull lasted only a matter of weeks before, in late October, the continued introduction of machines saw a renewal of machine breaking in the eastern counties. In these early cases, the labourers focused on destroying the hated machines, just as they had in 1822. They did not take any money or plunder and even refused it if offered to them.<sup>84</sup> These early cases of rioting were dealt with quickly by the local Assizes where the magistrates imposed light sentences - often only three days' imprisonment.<sup>85</sup>

But unlike the pattern of 1816 and 1822, on this occasion, the riots continued to spread beyond the eastern - most counties; quickly into east Sussex and parts of Surrey. According to Rudé:

As machines were brought into other districts and as labourers took courage from the Kentishmen's example, the riots spread to other counties. The means of propagation varied; it might be by ale-house gossip, by travelling bands who, in some cases, crossed from one county to another; or, as the riots got underway, they might follow the pattern of the French peasant disturbances of 1775 and 1789 and spread by a simple spontaneous 'contagion', from village to village or pub to pub. With rare exceptions, the organisation was on a

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<sup>82</sup> N E Fox, *The Spread of the Threshing Machine in Central Southern England*, *Agricultural History Review*, vol. 26, 1978, 26 at p.28.

<sup>83</sup> D Kent, *Popular Radicalism and the Swing Riots in Central Hampshire*, Hampshire Paper Series, 1997, p.6.

<sup>84</sup> Hammonds, p.245.

<sup>85</sup> *Ibid*, p.246.

purely local scale ... by such means, the disturbances spread with remarkable speed, rarely lingering in any one county for more than a few days.<sup>86</sup>

By November the rioting had reached westwards into Hampshire, Wiltshire, Dorset and Gloucestershire. New focal points in Berkshire and Oxfordshire saw it spread into Buckinghamshire and then, briefly, into Huntingdonshire and other counties further north. The life of the riots in any particular county could be measured in a matter of weeks; in Huntingdonshire they lasted only four nights,<sup>87</sup> in Buckinghamshire, only three weeks. They lasted for the longest period in Wiltshire, the most economically distressed of all the counties, and the area which contributed a third of all the machine breakers transported to Van Diemen's Land. In Hampshire, the second most affected county, they lasted almost as long although the majority of the disturbances occurred in one week of intense activity from 19 to 25 November.

As the fingers of unrest spread westwards and northwards into other counties, the riots swept up many local issues as well. In Berkshire, one movement originating in Thatcham revolved around a call for higher wages. A similar focus on wages had previously occurred in Essex.<sup>88</sup> In parts of Suffolk, Church of England parsons were targeted over the onerous tithe payments.<sup>89</sup> In Hampshire, there was considerable destruction of property, including the pulling down of workhouses at Selbourne and Headley; in High Wycombe in Buckinghamshire the rioting focussed on the destruction of paper-making machinery and in Oxfordshire, there were demonstrations against enclosure.<sup>90</sup> In Wiltshire, most of the disturbances involved machine breaking.<sup>91</sup> In one town in Buckinghamshire, the demonstrations were not only about wages, but also the obviously heated local issue of the manner in which parish gifts were distributed:

Where special grievances existed in a village, the labourers took advantage of the rising to seek redress for them. Thus at Walden in Bucks, in addition to demanding 2s. a day wages with 6d. for each child and a reduction of tithes, they made a special point of the improper distribution of parish gifts. A... person said that buns used to be thrown from the church steeple and beer given away in the churchyard and a sermon preached on the bun day... [A new parson subsequently] consulted the Archdeacon on the claim...and the Archdeacon was of opinion that no such claim could be maintained.<sup>92</sup>

The disturbances spread into industrial areas, reflecting the fact that social unrest was not limited to the countryside at the time. Charles O'Hara Booth, the officer shortly to set sail for Van Diemen's Land as the new commandant of Port Arthur, recorded in his diary that his November 1830 journey from Wolverhampton to Coventry was

<sup>86</sup> Rudé, *The Crowd in History* p.151. See also Hammonds, p.259. Charlesworth (*An Atlas of Rural Protest in Britain 1548-1900*, p.151) suggests that the rapid spread of the unrest was due to the magistrates unwisely imposing lenient sentences on the early offenders.

<sup>87</sup> *Machine Breaker News*, June 1994. The actual dates were 24 - 27 November 1830.

<sup>88</sup> Rudé, *Criminal and Victim*, p.87.

<sup>89</sup> Rudé, *The Crowd in History* p.152. See also Hammonds, p.263.

<sup>90</sup> Hammonds, p.268. See also J Stevenson, *Popular Disturbances in England 1700 - 1870*, p. 239.

<sup>91</sup> Hammonds, p. 294.

<sup>92</sup> *Ibid*, p.268.

disrupted by striking colliers, meetings of political unions, and the burning of factories in Coventry.<sup>93</sup> An iron foundry was destroyed in relatively peaceful Berkshire,<sup>94</sup> cotton spinners at Dalston in Carlisle were restless until late November<sup>95</sup> and a few months later, Lord Melbourne wrote with concern to the Duke of Northumberland about the lingering disputes between coal-owners and the pitmen in Newcastle.<sup>96</sup> In the Redditch area of Worcestershire, needlemakers gathered and broke up new machines which stamped the eyes into needles, threatening jobs which previously had been done by hand.<sup>97</sup> Even in Wiltshire, a woollen mill and a cloth factory were destroyed during the riots.<sup>98</sup>

One outstanding characteristic of the widespread riots, whether they focussed on purely agricultural issues like threshing machines or parsons' privileges, or on factory or workhouse conditions, was the almost complete absence of women from the disturbances. These were not "bread riots", where food prices were central to the unrest, and the absence of women can be seen as evidence of the traditional nature of many of the disturbances, with links harking back to communal action traditionally taken by men in southern English villages during times of great crisis.

In fact, only twenty two women were ever arrested for their parts in the riots, compared to the more than two thousand men who were taken into custody. During the trials, eight women were convicted, but only two of them were ever transported - both to Van Diemen's Land.<sup>99</sup>

The least common form of outrage, but the one which gave the riots their name, was the Swing letter - a written message addressed to a farmer or landholder demanding the destruction of threshing machines and/or the raising of wages for agricultural labourers. Often, the Swing letter would threaten violence if the demands were not met. They were invariably signed "Swing" or "Captain Swing" - a reference believed to be to the swing flail traditionally used by labourers to manually thresh wheat. In itself, this symbolic name was indicative of the inherent conservatism of the labourers. At other times in English and Irish history, similarly romantic names have been ascribed to the fictitious leaders of such movements or disturbances - including Captain Rock, Ned Ludd, and Rebecca (of Rebecca's Daughters).<sup>100</sup>

The other explanation for the term "Swing" or "Captain Swing" was that it referred to the hangman's noose, swinging from a gibbet. There is little contemporary evidence

<sup>93</sup> *The Journal of Charles O'Hara Booth*, THRA, 1981, p.141 (5-7 November 1830).

<sup>94</sup> Rudé, *Protest and Punishment*, p.117.

<sup>95</sup> *Hampshire Telegraph*, 22 November 1830.

<sup>96</sup> Melbourne to Duke of Northumberland, May 21, 1831. L Sanders (ed) *Lord Melbourne's Papers* Longmans 1890, 2<sup>nd</sup> Edition.

<sup>97</sup> *Machine Breakers News*, Herts, December 1994.

<sup>98</sup> Hammonds, p.261.

<sup>99</sup> Hobsbawm and Rudé, *Captain Swing*, p. 246.

<sup>100</sup> Rebecca's Daughters were, originally, Welsh farmers who dressed in womens' skirts and rode in groups at night, tearing down turnpikes and tollgates in protest at the onerous rates. The farmers ceased their involvement in the outrages as, increasingly, village poor and out of work agricultural labourers took to the roads at night and destroyed workhouses and other buildings as well. The disturbances lasted from 1839 to 1842, and their nocturnal nature meant that very few Daughters were ever caught and transported. Rudé, *Protest and Punishment*, p. 122

to support this interpretation, however. The only tangible evidence - and perhaps even the origin of the idea - is a famous and widely published lithograph print created by the satirist William Heath in January 1831 as a comment on the riots. It featured a swinging noose in the foreground of a scene of burning hay ricks.<sup>101</sup> The term "Swing" was not used by rioters to describe their movement; it was the urban journalists who first seized upon the Swing signature and used it to cover all the elements of destruction, including machine breaking, rick burning and assaults on workhouses.<sup>102</sup> The signature itself was appearing on anonymous letters in Kent as early as mid- October 1830.<sup>103</sup>

The historian J. Stevenson has identified in these multifarious expressions of protest in 1830 an essentially defensive nature, conforming to a pattern that had been set before 1700, attempting "to resist interference or innovation of some kind" - in this case, the reintroduction of threshing machines at a time of severe rural distress:

As in the case of Captain Swing disturbances, we seem often to be seeing a retrospective protest against earlier changes, the full import of which was only brought home at a time of particular crisis. Hence the incidence of protest did not necessarily correspond to actual changes in food marketing or other customary arrangements.<sup>104</sup>

It is no surprise, therefore, to find that the riots were more widespread in the counties that were not only economically distressed but also where the labourers were more conservative. Traditional or ceremonial aspects of many of the practices engaged in by the labourers during the riots have often been noted by social historians. Stevenson, for example, canvasses the earlier evidence collected by Hobsbawm, Rudé and Thompson.<sup>105</sup> More recently, David Kent has made a wider study of this aspect of the riots. He has identified in the almost ritualistic pattern that many of the machine breaking and tribute-demanding episodes took, a returning to "an older world based on custom and community":

Charitable relief through collective begging and the resolution of local grievances were traditionally sought within the community where recipients and donors, masters and men, knew each other. The assertion of a social code based on mutual aid had no meaning amongst strangers.<sup>106</sup>

Even the gathering of rioters to perambulate around local farms was tied back to medieval tradition ("parish processioning"), as was their habit of retiring as a group to a local public house to spend all the money received from the squire and the parson on food and drink ("commensality").<sup>107</sup> In his most recent co-operative work on the Swing riots and the lives of the *Eleanor* machine breakers, who were sent to New South Wales, Kent has analysed these semi-ritualistic processes even further and

<sup>101</sup> Kent, *Popular Radicalism*, p.19.

<sup>102</sup> Hobsbawm and Rudé, p. 12.

<sup>103</sup> *Hampshire Telegraph*, 25 October 1830.

<sup>104</sup> J Stevenson, *Popular Disturbances in England, 1700-1870*, p.39.

<sup>105</sup> *Ibid*, p 8.

<sup>106</sup> Kent, *Popular Radicalism* p.12.

<sup>107</sup> Kent, *ibid*. Commensality - "the habit of eating at the same table", *OED*, 2<sup>nd</sup> Edition, Oxford, 1989.

noted the frequency with which labourers would claim they had the Law on their side when they smashed up the machines and they believed they were not doing anything wrong.<sup>108</sup>

One of the fortunate side-effects of the Swing disturbances being steeped in village custom is that most of the agricultural labourers did not act in a violent manner. A simple example was the small crowd of seventy labourers from Asherd who gathered and went to Yates, the seat of Lord Torrington. Upon arrival, they were told he was in bed dangerously ill. The crowd withdrew without a murmur and travelled on to Oxney Heath, the seat of Sir William Gery. Her husband was not home, but Lady Gery handed five pounds in gold to the gathering. The labourers gave three cheers for their patrons and then dispersed to various beer houses.<sup>109</sup>

Kent does not, however, attempt to explain why the disturbances often involved labourers and artisans from open villages, where the very traditional relationships that he is referring to had been breaking down anyway, and where the actions of labourers would not necessarily be expected to be founded in rural custom.

The media, led by the *London Times*, appear to have been torn between expressing sympathy for the plight of the labourer and concern about the nature of the riots - "The Boors of Russia, the serfs of Poland, or the slaves in our West India colonies are better treated and consequently have less cause for complaint than the English peasantry".<sup>110</sup> Even during the heat of the riots, the provincial media could successfully put its finger on the nature of the problem although, Cobbett-like, it continued to propagate the romantic pastoral image of the agricultural labourer's native goodness:

That the condition of the labouring poor in many of the agricultural districts has for a long time been most deplorable is unfortunately not to be denied. Where the practice of eking out their scanty wages by allowances from the poor rates has prevailed, the demoralising effects of such a system have been severely felt; and the independent spirit of the English labourer, founded upon the fair compensation for honest industry, has given way to feelings of discontent and recklessness....

We would address an observation to the landowners of the country. It must be obvious to them that the present system of things cannot continue, and their own interest demands a speedy removal for the prevailing complaint...if the Government will grant Reform in Parliament and reduction in taxation, we may fully indulge the hope of seeing in the subjects of this realm a happy, contented and united people.<sup>111</sup>

Although machine breaking incidents were frequently reported in its regular columns on the state of the country, the *London Times* reflected the community's abhorrence for the less common but more newsworthy acts of rick burning and animal poisoning or maiming<sup>112</sup> and the horror represented by the Swing letters.<sup>113</sup> Rick burning in

<sup>108</sup> D Kent and N Townsend, *The Convicts of the Eleanor*, London 2002, pp.47 and 51.

<sup>109</sup> *Hampshire Telegraph*, 22 November 1830.

<sup>110</sup> *London Times*, 6 November 1830.

<sup>111</sup> *Gloucester Journal*, 4 December 1830.

<sup>112</sup> *London Times* 13 December 1830, 18 December 1830.

particular, with its image of the night horizons tinged red with flames and shadowy figures, captured the public's imagination. It was regarded as an "un-English dastardly crime"<sup>114</sup> and supporters of (or perhaps apologists for) the machine breakers would distance themselves from such acts. In a letter to the *Times*, one correspondent wrote that many machine breakers, who saw their deeds as justified, were horrified by rick burning which they believed "destroyed the gifts of Providence and increased the peasant's suffering".<sup>115</sup>

Even George Loveless, the future leader of the Tolpuddle Martyrs, recorded his contempt for these acts of incendiarism and distanced himself from the rioters:

..at the time when so much incendiarism was prevailing in many parts of the kingdom, a watch was set in our parish for the protection of property in the night, and I and my brother, among others, was chosen to watch such property. Will any reasonable man believe, if we had been rioters, that we should have been so chosen?<sup>116</sup>

James Brine, one of the Tolpuddle Martyrs transported to New South Wales, also distanced himself from the activities of the Swing rioters by recording his distaste at being referred to as a machine breaker by his new master when assigned in the Hunter Valley.<sup>117</sup>

Notwithstanding that the machine breakers themselves frequently condemned the incendiary and dissociated themselves from his activities,<sup>118</sup> there is no doubt that the acts of incendiarism played a substantial role in shaping the 19<sup>th</sup> century historians' impression of the riots, particularly the urban-based historian.<sup>119</sup> Harriet Martineau, for example, reflected this in her work published in 1877. In a chapter describing the disturbances headed simply "Rick Burning" she commenced by drawing links between O'Connell and the disturbances in France and Belgium, and then wrote about the rick burning with a discernible element of bemusement as to why peasants should ever commit such a self-destructive act. She referred only in passing to the economic distress in the countryside as a possible cause, and even the rioters' resentment towards machinery is only mentioned as a by-product of the arsonists' activities:

There was, as there always is among an ignorant population, some discontent with the machinery; but it did not appear that the farmers who used machinery were more pursued by the incendiary than others.<sup>120</sup>

Even as late as 1890, historians primarily concerned themselves with the rare episodes of rick burning, and figures like Carlisle and Cobbett were referred to in texts as "the

<sup>113</sup> *London Times*, 14 January 1831. See also *Hampshire Telegraph*, 22 November 1830.

<sup>114</sup> *London Times*, 30 April 1835.

<sup>115</sup> *London Times*, 14 December 1831. See Hobsbawm and Rudé, p. 239, for other examples.

<sup>116</sup> G. Loveless, *The Victims of Whiggery*, Facsimile document, Central Dorchester Committee, 1969, p.10.

<sup>117</sup> G Loveless, *A Narrative of the Sufferings of James loveless, James Brine, Thomas & John Standfield, etc..displaying the Horrors of Transportation*, London, 1831, p. 11.

<sup>118</sup> Hobsbawm and Rudé, p. 239. See also, Kent and Townsend, *The Men of the Eleanor*, p.47.

<sup>119</sup> Hobsbawm and Rudé, p.12.

<sup>120</sup> H. Martineau, *A History of The Thirty Years' Peace, Vol II (1824-1833)*, Bell & Sons, 1877, p. 397.



incendiary orators".<sup>121</sup> It was only with the Hammonds in 1911 that the focus swung towards the machine breaking episodes which have dominated the historian's study of the riots ever since. Hobsbawm and Rudé have concluded that acts of incendiarism only became a common form of rural protest after the 1830 riots, when the rural labourer had been shocked by the severity of the Bench's response to open protest, and anonymity became a necessity:

Captain Swing, wrongly cast by public opinion as an incendiary in 1830, triumphed in this role for twenty years thereafter. Henceforth the degree of labourers' discontent is most easily measured by the prevalence of burning stacks.....There is little doubt that after 1830 [the infrequency with which episodes of incendiarism occurred] changes substantially. There is...a new note of embittered despair, a dark atmosphere of hatred and vengeance, which is on the whole absent in 1830.<sup>122</sup>

It is worth noting that in any event the few rick-burners active up until that time may not have been as indiscriminate and self - destructive in their actions as many 19<sup>th</sup> century historians thought; there is some evidence to suggest the arsonists targeted the tithe-stacks and generally ignored the farmers' harvest stacks (which were often insured anyway).<sup>123</sup>

The greatest fear, articulated more frequently as the riots spread, was that there might be a central directing power behind the unrest which could make it burst into a serious conflagration. Rumours abounded as to which parties might be stirring up the labourers. Reports were carried in the press on a county by county basis:

**Kent.** If we had inclination, we should want space to record the ten thousand and one stories that reach us on the subject of the Kentish disturbances. The fires are variously reported to originate with the labourers - not with the labourers - with the smugglers - with the Papists, with the agents of O'Connell - with the agents of government - with the bigoted Protestants - with the radicals - with foreign revolutionists - with a hundred other conjectures 'too tedious to enumerate'. However, there is little doubt that distress and desperation form the mystery, and that a kind of English Rockism is in operation.<sup>124</sup>

The last is a reference to Captain Rock, the fictional leader of the protests in the continuing Irish troubles. The English writer Thomas Moore had immortalised the legendary Irish leader Captain Rock in 1824 with his popular book *"Memoirs of Captain Rock, the Celebrated Irish Chieftan, With some Account of his Ancestors"*. It was said that Moore borrowed the name of the Irish hero "to typify that spirit of

<sup>121</sup> See, for example, L. Sanders (ed), *Lord Melbourne's Papers*, p.127.

<sup>122</sup> Hobsbawm and Rudé, p.285. See also J Stevenson, *Popular Disturbances in England 1700-1870*, London 1979, p.24; 'Once fires were started, it was not uncommon for the villagers to turn out and hamper the firemen, loot the premises or even stoke up the blaze. Dumb insolence from locals when questioned about the instigators or men casually lighting their pipes from a smouldering hayrick or barn spoke volumes for the way in which arson had become a part of social protest.'

<sup>123</sup> Rudé, *Captain Swing and VDL*, p. 9.

<sup>124</sup> *London Times*, 6 November 1830.

violence and insurrection which is necessarily generated by systematic oppression - and rudely avenges its crimes"<sup>125</sup> - an analogy seen as appropriate for the Swing rioters.

Concern was also expressed in the press that the unrest might spread beyond the labourers' ranks, to encompass a more powerful group:

The middle class of farmers, thus pressed on one hand by their starving labourers, and on the other by their landlords and the clergy, will, unless speedily rescued from their painful dilemma, be compelled to make common cause with the former, whom they must consider as fellow-sufferers, while the latter they must look upon as exactors and oppressors. Then will come the real storm, compared with which what has just passed by will have been a summer breeze.<sup>126</sup>

There were some grounds for this concern; the attitude of many farmers to the riots was equivocal to say the least, with large numbers tacitly supporting the labourers or on occasions even openly siding with them.<sup>127</sup> Most small tenant farmers were in fact more socially aligned with the labourers in terms of literacy levels and life styles than with the larger farmers. Often, farmers would agree to increase wages or dismantle their machines if their own rents could be reduced.

Another fear, less frequently expressed, was that the rural labourers and the industrial labourers might join forces. When passing sentences at the peak of the riots, the magistrates of Wiltshire warned of the social and political dangers that might ensue once "insubordination" reached beyond the rural districts of the county and reached the manufacturing and clothing districts in the far west. Fortunately, the movement petered out in the fields of the county before it reached those areas.<sup>128</sup>

### Village Representation

Despite the widespread nature of the riots, they were almost universally village based. Consequently, most of the machine breakers transported on the *Proteus* and the *Eliza* were from a relatively small number of villages in the affected counties. Examples are Birchington in Kent, Ramsbury in Wiltshire, Withersfield in Suffolk and Sawtrey in Huntingdonshire.

In Kent, where the troubles first began, incidents of machine breaking were still erupting in late November. In setting a pattern that was followed in many other counties, the assignment list of Kentish machine breakers (twenty one men) was comprised of participants from only a handful of the disturbed villages - all of which occurred in late November. The period 20 to 30 November was the "black spot" for Kentish machine breakers who were sentenced to transportation. Seven of the twenty

<sup>125</sup> *Edinburgh Review*, Oct. 1832, Art. vii, p.143.

<sup>126</sup> *Brighton Herald*, 11 December 1830.

<sup>127</sup> Hammonds, p.282, Rudé Captain Swing and VDL, p.7, and *The Crowd in History*, p.155.

<sup>128</sup> Rudé, *Criminal and Victim; Crime and Society in Early Nineteenth Century England*, Oxford 1985, p. 8.

one Kentish transportees were involved in a single isolated machine breaking incident in the village of Birchington. It was an unusual incident in that the farmer did not even know his threshing machine had been broken until two days later.

Birchington is a small seaside town near the much larger, better known town of Margate. In the early 1830s it was a farming area with a population of approximately 800, and was experiencing high unemployment. As a result, poor rates were high and had to be paid by no more than sixty reluctant ratepayers. The village workhouse had "at least" thirty beds. It could be described as an open village.

On the night of Saturday 20 November 1830, Thomas Hepburn, an illiterate 30 year old ploughman from the small neighbouring hamlet of Acol went to Dalbey's beer shop in the town. Unemployed, with a wife and a four year old daughter to feed, Hepburn talked to the assembly about threshing machines. Followed by a few of the Dalbey men, he then went to Powell's Arms. There he railed again at the machines – to a much larger gathering. At about 10 o'clock, he left the inn at the head of a group of twenty men. Ten of them were from the local area. In addition to Hepburn, there was Thomas Golder (28, married ploughman), William Brown (33, married ploughman), Richard Oliphant (25, unmarried butcher), Stephen Bushell (28, unmarried labourer), William Bushell (a cousin of Stephen, 17, unmarried labourer), Thomas Overy (22, unmarried labourer), William Hughes (21, unmarried labourer), William Lilley (unmarried labourer), and William Reed (a labourer).<sup>129</sup>

The group broke up and reassembled shortly afterwards on the road leading from Birchington to Vincent Farm, a farm tenanted by Hills Rowe. Many now carried sticks; Hepburn was armed with a saw and another villager had a sledgehammer. They followed Hepburn along the road and then took a short cut across a field to Vincent Farm. Opposite the farm house was a chalk pit and Hepburn led the group, now numbering about thirty, while Lilley and Reed stood watch at the gate. Inside the pit was Hills Rowe's threshing machine. After fifteen minutes of hammering and sawing, the machine was reduced to a pile of short pieces of wood and bent metal. The party then quietly dispersed. They did not confront Hills Rowe who was quite unaware that his machine had been destroyed until he discovered the wreckage the following Monday morning.<sup>130</sup>

Many acts of machine breaking did not follow the accepted pattern and this was a good example of the all-too-common exception. Almost all the rioters identified as being involved in this incident were unmarried men - again unusual in that almost half of all machine breakers transported to Van Diemen's Land were married. Also, the machine breaking was carried out furtively, with no violence or confrontation with the farmer. Under Hepburn's leadership, it was one of the most disciplined and non-violent of all the machine breaking episodes. Yet Hepburn and six other men identified as locals stood trial for machine breaking before a bench of local magistrates on 21 December. The only witnesses against them were Reed and Lilley, the watchmen, who gave evidence for the Crown in order to escape prosecution. Reed

<sup>129</sup> Trial report, prepared by G W Ledger, Town Clerk, 22 December 1830, referred to in J. Fuller, *Some Ancestors and Descendants of Thomas Hepburn and His Wife Elizabeth Anne Emptage*, MS, Melbourne, 1997.

<sup>130</sup> *Kentish Gazette*, 24 December 1830.

was from the same small hamlet of Acol as Hepburn. The prisoners were represented by a Mr Deeds from the law firm of Walker and Sylvester of Canterbury but, despite a vigorous defence, they were all found guilty and sentenced to seven years transportation.<sup>131</sup> All except William Hughes, who sailed on the *Eleanor*, were transported on the *Eliza*. The more than twenty out-of-towners not recognised by Reed or Lilley presumably suffered no consequences.

Another small village to lose many of its young men to Van Diemen's Land was Ramsbury in Wiltshire. The activities of these men equated more closely to the traditionally accepted view of the riots.

Ramsbury was an open village. It had endured an enclosure award in 1778<sup>132</sup> which resulted in the establishment of approximately fifteen farms of a substantial size by the time of the riots. The largest landowner in the district, by a margin of a thousand acres, was Sir Francis Burdett the radical Member of Parliament. Small plots of land near the village were owned by local shopkeepers and artisans. One of the identifying characteristics of Ramsbury is that many of the local artisans had built cottages to rent out at comparatively high prices to labourers, which had led to the creation of a small rural slum.<sup>133</sup> Unlike many other villages that rioted, a number of the local artisans in Ramsbury were alienated from the labourers because of their role as slum landlords and village mechanics did not play as great a leadership role in the disturbances that followed. The village had a tradition of dissension and non-conformity which dated back to the late 17th century and leadership in the riots was taken in the village by a Ranter - a Primitive Methodist named Thomas Goddard.<sup>134</sup>

Although there had been sporadic unrest since 17 September (including the forced release of prisoners from the local gaol), the major outbreak in Ramsbury occurred on 23 November, when labourers joined with their fellow rioters in Aldbourne and were led by Goddard - a tanner by trade - in a riot through the neighbouring countryside. Their main outrage in the course of the day was to demand and receive a sovereign from Richard Church and to destroy his threshing machines, an act for which Goddard called for "three cheers" from the mob. The unrest lasted only a single day and appears to have achieved its aims:

The labourers in the neighbourhood of Ramsbury have returned to their work, satisfied with the promise that machines shall no more be used, and that their wages shall be raised, provided that landowners will make a competent reduction of rent.<sup>135</sup>

But it was already too late; the next morning, the Marlborough Troop of Yeomanry swooped and apprehended a number of the Ramsbury men.<sup>136</sup> Goddard was found hiding under a pile of leather in his workshop when the Yeomanry came calling. It

<sup>131</sup> Ibid, see also *London Times*, 28 December 1830.

<sup>132</sup> B Croucher, *The Village in the Valley*, p.129.

<sup>133</sup> Ibid, p.144. Note also that Kent and Townsend, in *The Convicts of the Eleanor*, at p.71, describe the concentration of labourers' cottages in Ramsbury as a rural slum rivalling the worst that Manchester could offer.

<sup>134</sup> Ibid, p.146.

<sup>135</sup> *Devizes and Wilts Gazette*, 2 December 1830.

<sup>136</sup> B Croucher, p.146.

was rumoured at the time that Goddard had a *tricolore* flag<sup>137</sup>, which would have fuelled the discomfort of the local authorities, but there is no official record of Goddard ever displaying the flag during the riots. Seven of the Ramsbury men were eventually transported to Van Diemens Land for this particular incident and offences related to it. They were Thomas Goddard (29, married), William Taylor (48, married ploughman/top sawyer), David Baker (30, married ploughman), John Vokings (21, single ploughman), Edward Looker (18, single farm labourer) and Joseph Alexander (25, married carpenter/wheelwright) and his brother Matthias Alexander (20, single hurdle maker). In a twist to the story of this riot, one of the main prosecution witnesses against the Ramsbury men was Thomas Brind, a servant of the complainant Richard Church. He appears to have subsequently changed sides and took part in a later machine breaking incident, resulting in him joining the Ramsbury men on the *Eliza*. Another Ramsbury villager, Isaac Looker, was meant to join them, as will be explained below. The youngest of the Alexander brothers, John, was also indicted but acquitted - presumably because of his age. A few years later John was transported for stealing a duck and after obtaining his ticket of leave joined his brothers in north-west Van Diemen's Land, where they accumulated substantial landholdings. In total, twelve families in the village of Ramsbury eventually lost men as a result of the disturbances, most of them to Van Diemen's Land.<sup>138</sup>

The role in these events of Sir Francis Burdett, Ramsbury's major landowner, has been the subject of criticism over the years. Burdett had a reputation as a champion for liberal issues; as an MP he had spoken in favour of a radical orator, John Gale Jones, who had been imprisoned by the House of Commons for criticising the House. His key speech on this issue was published in Cobbett's *Register* and he was subsequently imprisoned himself. Later, he was imprisoned again for criticising the Government over the Peterloo Massacre<sup>139</sup> and in 1828 he successfully moved for a debate to take place on the state of laws affecting Roman Catholics. His entry in the *National Dictionary of Biography* states "To Burdett is confessedly due the merit of having made public speech again possible in England".<sup>140</sup>

Surprisingly, therefore, Burdett was one of the politicians who demanded the harshest sentences for the rioters, and insisted that the discontented counties should be put under martial law.<sup>141</sup> The Hammonds noted with disappointment that Burdett, as one of the few acknowledged Radicals in Parliament at the time, failed to speak up for the rioters - "To these men, if to any, the conduct of the labourers might have seemed to call for sympathy rather than for violence" - but it was not to be.<sup>142</sup> Croucher<sup>143</sup> has observed that his lack of sympathy for the labourers in their plight contrasted oddly with his later zeal and fervour in supporting the Great Reform Bill of 1832. What such writers forget, however, is that Burdett was a landholder first (2700 acres) - with

<sup>137</sup> Ibid, p.146.

<sup>138</sup> Ibid, p.148.

<sup>139</sup> *DNB*, Vol III, London 1886.

<sup>140</sup> In fact, in Burdett's later years in Parliament, he threw his support to the conservative side. This 'last stand on the side of toryism' was due in great measure to his dislike of Daniel O'Connell's principles. Ibid.

<sup>141</sup> Croucher, p.148.

<sup>142</sup> Hammonds, p.312/313.

<sup>143</sup> Croucher, p.148.

a particular passion for fox-hunting - and a politician second; his reforming zeal was never directed at causes which threatened the existing landowner's privileged position. Equally ambiguous was the attitude of Cobbett, who showed himself to be unforgiving when it came to battling the encroachment of destitute poachers onto his own properties.<sup>144</sup>

Seven men from the village of Withersfield in Suffolk were also sentenced to transportation on the *Proteus* for a single machine-breaking episode.<sup>145</sup> Their names were Giles Moore (40, married ploughman), Thomas Everett (47, married ploughman), his son James Everett (22, single ploughman), William Williams (19, single ploughman), Robert Kimmence (35, married farm labourer), Cromwell Potter (26, married ploughman), and his nephew Stephen Ship (19, single shepherd/ploughman). They represented the entire Suffolk contingent of men transported for machine breaking. One interesting characteristic of this group of villagers is that as many as five of the Withersfield men may have returned to England - certainly the highest proportion for any county. Another example is represented by the village of Sawtrey; four of the five Huntingdonshire rioters who were transported on the *Proteus* came from this small northwestern village, which appears to have been a centre for the Swing riots during the four days that the unrest flashed through the county.<sup>146</sup>

### The tenant farmer

Although there had been instances of resistance by tenant farmers to the actions of the rioters, many also tacitly supported them or at least adopted a passive role when the rioters arrived at their farm. There were even isolated incidents of farmers taking a leading role in the disturbances. This may have been due to the fact that, even with the recent introduction of cheap portable threshing machines, their use still represented at best only a marginal cost advantage over the use of lowly paid labourers and also demonstrated a feeling of kinship with the men whom they had grown up with in the villages. The most notable example of this was the Hampshire farmer Joseph Mason, who was the prime mover in a political society centred on the town of Sutton Scotney.<sup>147</sup> After the riots Mason and his brother Robert were transported to New South Wales on the *Eleanor*.

Another farmer who was swept up in the disturbances and who sided with the labourers - perhaps by accident - was John Boyes of Hampshire. Early in the morning of Tuesday 23 November, a mob of labourers gathered in the Hampshire town of Owlesbury. They went to Marwell Court Farm, the home of Thomas Deacle, and seized his threshing machine which was taken out into a field and destroyed. From there, they went to another farm and pressed the labourers working there to join them. The swelling numbers then proceeded to the farm of Joseph Lowndes and forced Lowndes to give them two half sovereigns. Their next stop was at Smith's Farm, where they flooded into his yard and began breaking up his threshing machine.

<sup>144</sup> D. Green, *Great Cobbett; The Noblest Agitator*, London, 1983, pp. 263 and 285.

<sup>145</sup> K. Green, *Emigration and Transportation of Rural Dissent*, MS Hobart, August 1997.

<sup>146</sup> *Machine Breakers News*, June 1994 and G Sharman, *Huntingdonshire Swing Rioters*, *Machine Breakers News*, vol. 6, No. 2, August 2000.

<sup>147</sup> D Kent, p.1.

Boyes, a 50 year old farmer, happened to be passing by on his way into town with some sacks to be mended. On hearing the noise coming from Smith's yard he went in to investigate. Smith's servant intercepted Boyes and took him into the farm house where his master and Deacle were watching events from the parlour in an agitated state. Smith was apparently afraid that even greater damage would be done by the rioters unless the farmers could somehow appease them. It is not clear who took the lead at this stage, but it was probably Boyes. The three farmers hastily drafted an agreement to pay their labourers two shillings per day (nine shillings per week for single men) if their own rents and tithes were abated by the same amount.<sup>148</sup> The agreement is a singular example of how the twin issues of labourers' wages and the introduction of threshing machines became entwined, one often pushing the other out of the way. In this instance, the agreement said nothing about discontinuing the use of machines. It is also a good example of how the farmers saw the issues of tithes and rents linked to what they could pay their workers.

The three farmers hastily signed the agreement and Boyes took it out to the mob to show them. Although somewhat mollified, they insisted that Boyes accompany them as they carried the agreement round to all the landowners and farmers in the district for their signatures. This he unfortunately (but understandably) agreed to do. The mob went to Marwell Hall, where the agreement was signed by Mrs Long on behalf of her husband. Boyes then left the mob (presumably to go to the next farm house to speak to the farmer). In his absence the labourers, led by Nicholas Fremantle ( a 32 year old married labourer/pit sawyer), demanded money of Mrs Long and received five sovereigns. The crowd, by now numbering 150, next went to Rose Hill, a farm owned by Lord Northesk and joined up there with Boyes. The estate manager, Moses Stanbrook, met them. After an old winnowing machine had been destroyed, Boyes asked Stanbrook to sign the farmers' agreement, which he did. Nicholas Fremantle then relieved Stanbrook of the "tribute of five pounds".

The labourers then went to Owlesbury Down, where they were joined by parties from two other villages; there Boyes left them to go to the public house at Owlesbury. Later, members of the mob retired to the same public house:

As they left one of them said to Boyes 'We'll meet again tomorrow, and get some more'. Boyes replied 'You've got too much, I'm afraid, already'. Many of the others agreed with this saying 'We have, we'll go to work tomorrow.'<sup>149</sup>

That appears to have been the limit of Boyes' involvement in the disturbances and, if it was, then his subsequent treatment seems harsh. The Hammonds, on the other hand, suggest that his involvement may have been more active, although they do not provide the contemporary source of their anecdote:

A small farmer, John Boy[e]s, of the Parish of Owlesbury, had thrown himself heartily into the labourers' cause. A number of small farmers met and decided that the labourers' wages ought to be raised. Boy[e]s agreed to take a paper

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<sup>148</sup> J Chambers, *Hampshire Machine Breakers, The Story of the 1830 Riots* (1996), p.51.

<sup>149</sup> Ibid p.50.

around for signature ... In similar cases, as a rule, the farmers left it to the labourers to collect signatures and Boy[e]s, by undertaking the work himself, made himself a marked man.<sup>150</sup>

Boyes was first indicted for having made a felonious assault on Moses Stanbrook, and stealing five pounds from him. The evidence at his trial on 29 December showed, however, that he had only requested Stanbrook to sign the agreement. He was acquitted but Nicholas Fremantle was found guilty and sentenced to transportation (on the *Proteus*). The Hammonds wrote that Boyes was then brought before a different court and retried, was found guilty along with James Fussell of leading a riotous mob and sentenced to seven years' transportation.<sup>151</sup> This is another example of the Hammonds gilding the lily to arouse the sympathy of the reader. Boyes was in fact tried for a different group of offences on 30 December relating to the visit to the Longs' farm at Morwell Hall. Surprisingly, this time Boyes did not even offer a defence, and he and Fussell were both sentenced to seven years' transportation. Contrary to what the Hammonds assert, both matters were heard by Justice Parke and the charges and evidence brought against them did not suggest that they led the riot. As will be seen below, the sentences for Boyes and Fussell were subsequently mitigated although Boyes was transported on the *Eliza*. His brother William Boyes was also swept up in events, being charged and also tried twice, but acquitted on both occasions. At the second trial he was unsuccessfully charged, with two other small farmers, of having conspired to compel landlords and tithe-owners to reduce tithes and rents in order that labourers' wages could be raised.<sup>152</sup> The Hammonds appear to have overlooked the episodes involving William Boyes.

It is ironic to note that, although the tenant farmers most frequently aligned in the historians' minds with the Swing riots – the Boyes brothers and the Mason brothers – were from Hampshire, the reality is that they were the exception in their county. Support from tenant farmers for the breaking of machines and the raising of labourers' wages was common in East Anglia and Sussex, but comparatively rare in Hampshire and Wiltshire.<sup>153</sup>

Often, the pre-emptive actions of local farmers or a local landlord could ensure the rioting did not sweep through their tenancies, or at least curtail its advance.

Even the Hammonds grudgingly conceded that there were occasions when reform was brought about in an orderly fashion. At Ringmer in Sussex, for example, "Lord Gage, the principal landowner of the neighbourhood, knowing that disturbances were imminent, met the labourers on the village green".<sup>154</sup> After considering their requests, he agreed to raise the wages of both married and single men, and arranged for the dismissal of Finch, the unpopular governor of the local poor house.<sup>155</sup> There were

<sup>150</sup> Hammonds, p.282.

<sup>151</sup> Ibid, p.83.

<sup>152</sup> Hobsbawm and Rudé, *Captain Swing*, p.244.

<sup>153</sup> Rudé, *Criminal and Victim*, p.88.

<sup>154</sup> Hammonds, p.251. Lord Gage had briefly been the subject of some criticism in the local press because of rumours circulating that he paid only two shillings a day to men on the Parish who worked at hedging and ditching on his estates. The rumour was eventually discredited; *Hampshire Telegraph*, 29 November and 6 December 1830.

<sup>155</sup> Hammonds, p.252.



other examples. The Duke of Norfolk instructed his stewards to reduce the rents on all his farms, in order that the farmers could increase their wages of their labourers.<sup>156</sup> At Chilbolton, in central Hampshire, one farmer even broke his threshing machine publicly in the village square.<sup>157</sup> Generally, these steps were only taken when rioting was imminent, but invariably the negotiations appear to have been carried out in an atmosphere of restraint and civility, without any threats of violence during the discussions.

Not all landlords took this approach: - of the Earl of Chesterfield it was written "The tithe was extracted to the uttermost farthing".<sup>158</sup> A common practice of the landlords was to extract the full amount of rent and then make parsimonious but widely publicised gestures of charitable reconciliation with the suffering families of labourers. A Mr G. Flesher, for example, gave fifty gallons of "rich soup" to the poor, and Lord Carrington distributed upwards of 150 blankets, rugs, and "a considerable number of petticoats" to the poor in his neighbourhood.<sup>159</sup> In other places such as Attleburgh in Norfolk, meetings organized by farmers to discuss wages with their labourers broke up in riot when the farmers agreed to raise the wages provided their tithes were reduced, but the major landowners present refused to agree to the reductions.<sup>160</sup>

### Response of the Home Government

Although the responses of the landlords may have varied - sometimes dousing the flames and on other occasions merely exacerbating an already tense situation - the central government was immediate and unambiguous in its response. By custom, the death of George IV on 26 June 1830 and the accession of his brother William IV had necessitated a general election for the House of Commons.<sup>161</sup> The election led to the downfall of the Duke of Wellington's administration on 22 November 1830 - a date that coincided with the week when riot activity was at its peak. Although the arch-conservative Duke had been predictably severe in his views on what should be done about the early disturbances in the south and east,<sup>162</sup> it was left to the Whig administration, headed by Earl Grey to deal with the situation - with Lord Melbourne the new Home Secretary and Thomas Denman the new Attorney General, being expected to take the lead in the task.

The riots were perceived to be a major challenge to the new administration as they feared the "contagion" aspect of the disturbances which had enveloped France in 1790.<sup>163</sup> The recent July riots in Paris and the abdication of Charles X raised the spectre of a similar rising in England:

<sup>156</sup> *London Times*, 13 December 1830. See also *Hampshire Telegraph*, 6 November and 20 December 1830 for examples of other land owners voluntarily reducing their rents and tithes.

<sup>157</sup> HRO 55M70/PR3; referred to by Kent, p.12.

<sup>158</sup> *London Times*, 13 December 1830.

<sup>159</sup> *Ibid*

<sup>160</sup> *Machine Breakers News*, December 1996.

<sup>161</sup> L Woodward, *Oxford History of England: The Age of Reform 1815-1870*, Oxford Edition, 1986, p.78.

<sup>162</sup> Hobsbawm and Rudé, *Captain Swing*, p.255.

<sup>163</sup> Stevenson, p.239.

No sooner was William on his throne than the labourers came out of their dens, looking like those *sans culottes* whose shadows were never far from the imagination of the English upper classes.<sup>164</sup>

The King made his own views known to the new Whig government within a matter of days of their instalment. In his biography of Melbourne, Philip Zeigler referred to a letter sent to Grey's Home Secretary dated 26 November 1831 in which the King 'urged that all those involved in the disturbances should be brought to trial with a minimum of delay and that after they were convicted – as he took for granted they would be – they should at once be transported to Australia.'<sup>165</sup>

The new government had no difficulty in acceding to the King's wishes. Woodward noted "The attitude of Whigs towards popular disturbances hardly differed from that of the Tories".<sup>166</sup>

The apprehension and trials of rioters by local magistrates at Quarter Sessions up until late November had produced few if any transportees and in fact a number of magistrates had openly urged their fellow landowners and farmers to accede to the rioters' demands and raise their wages. The magistrates for the division of Devizes in Wiltshire had even resolved on 23 November that wages for all labourers should be increased to ten shillings a week<sup>167</sup> and those for Andover in Hampshire resolved on 20 November that wages be increased to twelve shillings a week for adult labourers.<sup>168</sup> These actions and the light sentences being handed down by the Quarter Sessions caused Lord Melbourne to set in train a number of initiatives which, more than anything else, eventually determined the shape of the assignment lists for the *Proteus* and the *Eliza*.

First, on 23 November, the day after the fall of Wellington, William IV issued a proclamation offering a reward of fifty pounds for the apprehension and conviction of any rioter - and five hundred pounds for an incendiary. Following the trials, a large number of petitions for rewards were received by the Home Office.<sup>169</sup>

Second, on 8 December, Melbourne addressed a circular to all magistrates, "Dictating a discontinuance of all yielding to threat or intimidation, either as respects the recommendation of an uniform rate of wages or the non-employment of the threshing machines which, it is justly observed, are as much under the protection of the law as any other machinery."<sup>170</sup> Implicit in the circular was a strong message that the sentences being handed down on the rioters were regarded as far too lenient.

The third initiative was to establish Special Commissions to deal with the rioters in the more troubled counties. In doing so, Melbourne was simply following a tradition

<sup>164</sup> Hammonds, p.239. See also Kent, p.14.

<sup>165</sup> P Zeigler, *Melbourne: A Biography of William Lamb*, London, Collins, 1976, p.134.

<sup>166</sup> Woodward, *The Age of Reform 1815-1870*, p.79.

<sup>167</sup> J Chambers, *Wiltshire Machine Breakers* p.39.

<sup>168</sup> J Chambers, *Hampshire Machine Breakers*, p.32.

<sup>169</sup> Public Records Office (PRO), Treasury Board Papers - PRO T1/4193-4.

<sup>170</sup> *Gentleman's Magazine*, C459,555- referred to in Rudé's *The Crowd in History*, p.154. See also Hammonds p.270.

of earlier governments that wished to circumvent the power of local (and therefore often sympathetic) courts in order to achieve a desired outcome. It had last been used to deal with the Luddite riots in 1815.<sup>171</sup> There were two Special Commissions which dealt with cases in Hampshire, Wiltshire, Berkshire, Buckinghamshire and Dorset and, between them, they ultimately dealt with in excess of 1,500 cases. They sat in Winchester, Salisbury, Reading, Dorchester and Aylesbury.

The strategic direction for all the prosecutions at the Special Commissions was provided by Denman, the Attorney General. Thomas Denman's career as a lawyer, politician and judge straddled many of the radical causes that punctuated English history in the first half of the nineteenth century. In 1817, as a barrister, he had unsuccessfully defended the Pentrich rebels<sup>172</sup> and in 1819, as a Parliamentarian, he had spoken out against the violence of the military's response to the Peterloo Riots. In 1820 he also represented Queen Caroline in the Queen Caroline affair. By 1830, however, he had changed his stance and was far from popular with radicals. Like Burdett, his popular image as something of a champion of radical causes suffered in the aftermath of the riots. In addition to his vigorous prosecution of the Swing rioters, Denman proceeded immediately thereafter to conduct the equally vigorous prosecutions against Carlile and Cobbett. He also prosecuted the Bristol rioters in 1832 and in 1838, as Lord Denman, Lord Chief Justice, he sat at the Summer Assizes to deal with the agricultural labourers prosecuted after the Battle of Bosenden Wood in Kent – sometimes referred to as the last agricultural uprising in England.<sup>173</sup>

The first trials before the Special Commissions commenced on 18 December 1830 in Hampshire. Because the prisoners were invariably dealt with in batches strictly according to the dates of their offences, the Special Commissions' first trials in each county dealt with disturbances that had occurred in or after the third week of November. The judges struck with particular vigour in their early sittings and the result was that the overwhelming number of convicts on the *Proteus* and the *Eliza* were those who had committed their crimes in the third and fourth weeks of November. As the trials continued and harsh sentences were handed down, the rioting came to a very quick end, thus achieving what Melbourne had set out to achieve.

Consequently, the sentences of transportation and execution handed down by the Commissions dwindled even though the seriousness of the individual cases they were dealing with had not diminished. By mid-January, harsh sentences were uncommon and the courts appear to have lost enthusiasm for the repetitive trials of 1500 men, particularly once the riots themselves had subsided. The *Times* of 12 January 1831 reported, in respect of the Assizes at Maidstone in Kent:

<sup>171</sup> P. Hollis, *The Pauper Press*, p.52, Hobsbawm and Rudé, *Captain Swing*, p.258.

<sup>172</sup> Rudé, in *Protest and Punishment*, described the Pentrich 'Revolution' or Derbyshire Uprising of June 1817 as the nearest thing to an armed rebellion at this stage of England's history. (p.94). It involved an ill-fated attempt by a small group of farm-workers, principally from the village of Pentrich in Derbyshire, to seize Nottingham Castle. Following their trials, the three leaders were hung, fourteen were sentenced to transportation to New South Wales, and seventeen others were set free.

<sup>173</sup> B Reay, *The Last Rising of the Agricultural Labourers; Rural Life and Protest in Nineteenth Century England*, OUP 1990, pp. 160/161.

At the termination of the trials at our late Assizes, the judges adjourned until today, as it was apprehended there might be prisoners for trial. We are happy, however, to state that in consequence of the continuance of tranquillity since then, it has not been considered necessary to open the commission today.<sup>174</sup>

One of the last cases dealt with on the court's final day of hearings was the matter of a labourer named Price, who had led riots on three separate nights in the Kentish villages of Stockbury, Great Malling, and Yalding. On the basis of the severe sentences handed down to other leaders of riots during earlier trials, Price could have expected to be executed, or at least transported for life. The temper of the Assize had mellowed considerably by this stage, however, and he only received a sentence of two years imprisonment.<sup>175</sup> Compare his fate with that of Hepburn and the other Kent rioters from Birchington who were sentenced to transportation on the *Proteus* and the *Eliza* for a much less serious single disturbance by the same court on 22 December 1830. Even the Hammonds noted that, after the riots subsided, "... justice began to tire and a good many charges were dropped".<sup>176</sup> By the time the first Special Commission had moved to Dorsetshire on 11 January, "the tendency to give less severe punishment, noted in the closing trials at Salisbury, was more marked at Dorchester".<sup>177</sup> Only thirteen rioters were eventually sentenced to transportation from that county, all of whom were sent to New South Wales on the *Eleanor*.

There was also an element of chance in whether a convicted rioter would even be transported, depending upon which of the two Special Commissions he found himself before. Notwithstanding the fact that the first Special Commission,<sup>178</sup> which had already sat in Wiltshire and Hampshire, had softened its tone by the time it reached Dorsetshire, it still overshadowed in severity the smaller second Special Commission which principally sat in Berkshire and Buckinghamshire. The Hammonds wrote that the differences in the severity of the punishments meted out were obvious from the start, and on 1 January 1831 the *Times* published a leading article drawing attention to the discrepancies. It pointed out that the Berkshire Commission was "a merciful contrast to that of Winchester".<sup>179</sup> The Hammonds put it down to the character and background of the individuals appointed to the two commissions and to prosecute the matters. It is clear that the second Special Commission punished rioters less severely than the first; the *Proteus* and the *Eliza* received only four convicts from Berkshire and twenty nine from Buckinghamshire, compared to fifty seven from Hampshire and one hundred and fifteen from Wiltshire.

Even the course of the trials which led to so many convictions were more fairly conducted by the Second Commission. At the Buckinghamshire Special Commission, for example, the presiding justice ordered a jury to acquit one group of rioters because a watchman, who was the prime witness against them, admitted serving time in gaol

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<sup>174</sup> *London Times*, 12 January 1831.

<sup>175</sup> *Ibid.*

<sup>176</sup> Hammonds, p.294.

<sup>177</sup> *Ibid.*, p.301.

<sup>178</sup> This Special Commission carried out the lion's share of the trials; its presiding judicial officers were Baron Vaughan, Justice Sir James Parke and Justice Sir Edward Alderson.

<sup>179</sup> Hammonds, p.302.

once for assaulting one of the rioters and because he refused to tell the court how many other times he had been in gaol.<sup>180</sup>

Additionally, the local Benches of magistrates and justices continued to be generally less severe than both Special Commissions.<sup>181</sup>

### Artisans

The trade or calling of the individual rioter had a significant impact on whether he ended up on a transport vessel like the *Eliza* or the *Proteus*. It is clear that both the Special Commissions and the ordinary courts were far more likely to sentence to transportation those participants who were not common labourers. Although there may have been a degree of sympathy for the plight of the ordinary agricultural labourer there was little sympathy - in fact there was often suspicion - directed towards the farmers and village artisans or tradesmen who joined in the disturbances.<sup>182</sup> In part this was driven by the view that such men could not rely on the excuse that their station in life had driven them to commit such outrages, but also there was a firm belief that these were the men who often inflamed and led the simple rural labourers to riot in the first place.<sup>183</sup>

It is quite likely that some of the tradesmen - particularly the blacksmiths, who were heavily over-represented on the assignment lists of both the *Proteus* and the *Eliza* - were dragooned or pressured into joining the labourers on their machine wrecking episodes because of their knowledge of machinery.<sup>184</sup> This was certainly a generally held view amongst country folk. The perception that some of the tradesmen may have been initially press-ganged into joining the rioters is illustrated, for example, in a letter written by a young lady of Wiltshire, Charlotte Wyndham, to her brother George, a settler in New South Wales, on 13 January 1831:

The special Assizes took place at Salisbury last week before three judges, and a great many prisoners are sentenced to transportation. Two are to be hanged..... I think these convicts will be most valuable servants to you and other settlers in New South Wales. I fancy they will not be inclined to quarrel with the machines they will find there. ... Papa has done his utmost to get one of the men's sentences mitigated, but he has not succeeded. ... A blacksmith, the most quiet and industrious young man in the parish. He was absolutely collared and taken out of his father's house by violence; but, of course, when his spirit was up he was active enough, and being a blacksmith he well knew how to break the ploughs and rollers. ... I know there is hardly a chance of seeing poor Edmund White, but if you do, don't forget that Papa has interested himself on his behalf. He has seven years to spend at Botany Bay.<sup>185</sup>

<sup>180</sup> *London Times*, 15 January, 1831.

<sup>181</sup> Hobsbawm and Rudé, p.262.

<sup>182</sup> Rudé, *The Crowd in History*, p.155, also Kent, p.13.

<sup>183</sup> See, e.g., *London Times*, 18 December 1830; also Hobsbawm and Rudé, p.245.

<sup>184</sup> Hobsbawm and Rudé, p.245.

<sup>185</sup> Dinton-Dalwood Letters, 1827-53 (privately printed) referred to in M Bassett, *The Hentys: An Australian Colonial Tapestry*, 1954 MUP, p.208.

The 17 year old Edmund White had been caught using a sledge-hammer to destroy a cast-iron roller;<sup>186</sup> he was not sent to Botany Bay as Charlotte Wyndham assumed but was instead transferred from the prison hulk *York* to the *Eliza* and transported to Van Diemen's Land.

The end result was that forty two of the 224 rioters transported on the *Eliza* and twelve of the ninety six transported on the *Proteus* were artisans or farmers - ratios which far outweigh the relative proportion of their numbers amongst the total number of those who took part in the riots, which was many thousands.

### Village Radicals

Scattered amongst the machine breakers who were embarked on the *Proteus* or the *Eliza* were a bare handful of the Central Hampshiremen who had followed the Mason brothers in the best documented group of rural radicals who were active during the riots.

In the Dever Valley of central Hampshire, Joseph and Robert Mason, along with Enos Diddams (a shoemaker who corresponded with Cobbett) were the leaders of The Radical and Musical Society; a unique, essentially political group which met at the White Swan Hotel in Sutton Scotney. They began their meetings with some beer and a song, before progressing to discuss the latest edition of Cobbett's *Political Register*.<sup>187</sup> At a meeting held by the Society on 29 September 1830 this mixture of farmers, labourers and small freeholders had signed a petition to the King pointing out the distress faced by the poor of England. The petition was drafted by Joseph Mason who based it on Cobbett's "Letter To The King" which had appeared in a recent edition of the *Political Register*. The document referred to the ordinary people's lack of representation in Parliament, the lack of a living wage, high taxes, government overspending on sinecures, an excessively large peacetime army, and to the failure of the government generally. The historian Kent described it as a "remarkable document from the working and labouring classes...which... was uncompromising in its social and political radicalism".<sup>188</sup> One hundred and seventy five men in the Dever Valley signed the petition, which Joseph Mason carried on foot to deliver to the King, who was in Brighton at the time. He was prevented from delivering it by the King's servants and so passed it on to Cobbett.

During the Riots, the Dever Valley was one of the very few areas where there was any co-ordinated effort by the participants:

These village radicals, dismissed by *The Times* as "Hampshire Bumpkins", who devoured the words of Cobbett and were prepared to petition the King in the name of the "sovereign people", organised and directed the most significant rural protest in Hampshire.<sup>189</sup>

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<sup>186</sup> Hobsbawm and Rudé, p.246.

<sup>187</sup> D. Kent, *Popular Radicalism*, p.5; see also J Chambers, *Hampshire Machine Breakers*, p.19.

<sup>188</sup> Kent, p.5.

<sup>189</sup> *Ibid*, p.8.

On the night of 19 November 1830, protest actions commenced simultaneously in all seven villages in the valley. Although most of the convicted Dever Valley rioters ended up on the *Eleanor* with the Mason brothers, four of them were transported to Van Diemen's Land, three of them on the *Eliza*. The one with the greatest notoriety was David Champ, a 22 year old ploughman who was Joseph Mason's brother-in-law. On one occasion, when a crowd of rioters was hesitating at the farm gate of a popular farmer, he successfully urged them on to destroy the man's threshing machine.<sup>190</sup> John Silcock, a 27 year old ploughman at the head of another Dever Valley crowd, defied a group of special constables and, when they attempted to arrest him, one of the labourers came to his aid and was subsequently executed. The third *Eliza* man was George Paice, a 24 year old ploughman who appears to have been swept up in events as a minor character. Kent has noted that eighteen of the men who signed the King's petition were indicted for riotous offences and only two were acquitted, which was a much lower percentage than the national average:

The leading lights in the Radical and Musical Society had been "selected" and 16 were transported. It is impossible not to believe that they were victims of a politically inspired purge.<sup>191</sup>

Only John Silcock among the three *Eliza* men appears to have signed the King's petition. The surprising thing is that, despite his inflamed passions and his link by marriage to the Masons, Champ had not apparently been one of the men to sign the Society's petition. The fourth Dever Valley man to be transported to Van Diemen's Land had signed; he was John Dore, a twenty year old labourer who was one of two machine breakers sent out to the colony on the *York* in 1832.

Along with Thomas Goddard, these men appear to have been the only recorded active radicals among the Van Diemen's Land assignees. Perhaps more research will throw up other examples but, so far, the number of convicts who have been identified as political activists before and during the riots and who were sent out on the *Proteus* or the *Eliza* is very small. In fact, of all the machine breakers who were transported to Van Diemen's Land, only one had an official record in England which would indicate a predilection towards civil disobedience. He was the Wiltshire ploughman John Rose, who had a conviction for taking part in a riot in 1825. The overwhelmingly apolitical character of the machine breakers appears to be one of their major defining characteristics.

As an aside, there is in fact some evidence that not all the rioters who followed the Mason brothers in the Dever Valley were fired by political issues alone. Starvation may also have been a factor. The village of Barton Stacey was one of the centres of unrest in the Dever Valley, and three members of the Batt family were arraigned for their part in the riots. All three were acquitted but a few years later, a brother of two of them was transported to Van Diemen's Land for stealing. After receiving his freedom, he was joined in the colony by two of his sons. He also wrote to his daughter, urging her to join them as well, telling her that he received as much food as ten men had ever received in 'Barton Starvey' – a deliberate play on the name of their

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<sup>190</sup> Ibid, p.11.

<sup>191</sup> Ibid, p.17.

native village.<sup>192</sup> Kent and Townsend also noted that that a group of the Barton Stacey protesters told a Church of England parson 'we have been living on potatoes long enough, and we must now have something better'.<sup>193</sup>

### A Swing Letter Writer

The trials of the machine breakers did throw up a few surprises - none more so than the confession of eighteen year old Edward Looker. Edward's father Isaac Looker was a well-to-do<sup>194</sup> farmer in the village of Ramsbury who was brought before the Special Commission for writing a number of anonymous threatening ("Swing") letters to local farmers demanding that they not give evidence against some of the rioters. The evidence against Looker was weak, based primarily on his well known sympathy for the labourers. Nevertheless, he was found guilty and despite his strenuous denial of the charges was sentenced to transportation for life. In passing sentence, Justice Alderson said "You will be sent to a country where you will find very few worse than yourself".<sup>195</sup>

The court then adjourned briefly for refreshments. During the short break, Edward Looker approached his father's solicitor. After a brief conversation the solicitor took Edward to the bar table. There, Edward admitted to the prosecutor and his father's barrister that it was he who had written the letters. He was given a piece of paper and wrote from memory one of the Swing letters. When compared with the original, there was no doubt they were the same handwriting. On the return of Justice Alderson to the Bench, the facts were made known to him by Isaac's barrister. Edward told the judge that he had written the letters in order to save some of his cousins who had been accused of breaking machines. Alderson observed that it looked like a trick, but ordered that there be a trial in relation to one of the other letters, in order that the court could test Edward's veracity. This duly occurred and Isaac was found not guilty in relation to the writing of a second letter.

The original sentence from the first trial still stood however and it was eventually necessary for the matter to be referred to Lord Melbourne for the granting of a free pardon to the elder Looker.<sup>196</sup> Edward had apparently confessed to his father when he was in prison awaiting trial but Isaac had chosen not to say anything about the confession at his trial, or even after the sentence of transportation for life had been handed down on him. Edward had been so overcome with guilt and shame at his father quietly accepting a fate that should have been his own, that he confessed. He was sentenced to seven years transportation in his father's place. The local newspaper reported that as he was taken from the bar, a gentleman asked him whether he had told his father what he had done before his father had been arrested - "He replied that he had not. 'If I had my father would have turned me out of doors' he said".<sup>197</sup> Edward Looker thereby joined the other men of Ramsbury on the *Eliza* as one of the few authors of a Swing letter to be transported. Of his cousins whom he

<sup>192</sup> James Batt to Caroline Batt Ansell, 15 November 1850. Copy of Letter held by Coleen Arulappa.

<sup>193</sup> D Kent and N Townsend, *The Convicts of the Eleanor*, p.69.

<sup>194</sup> Hammonds, p.295.

<sup>195</sup> *Devizes and Wilts Gazette*, 6 January 1831.

<sup>196</sup> Hammonds, p.296.

<sup>197</sup> *Devizes and Wilts Gazette*, 13 January 1831.



sought to protect, only the brickmaker Robert Vivash was convicted and transported to Van Diemens Land on the *Eliza*; the others were eventually discharged.

### Petitions For Clemency

Almost all of the death sentences handed down on 252 of the rioters were subsequently commuted to transportation for life or even shorter periods after Lord Melbourne was deluged with petitions for clemency. Following the speedy re-establishment of civil order the Press also urged the government to reconsider the severity of many of the sentences.<sup>198</sup>

James Fussell, who had been convicted with the Hampshire farmer John Boyes, was not even transported after petitions lodged in his favour were successful. After serving eight months imprisonment in England he was granted a full pardon. Boyes, whose case arguably deserved greater sympathy, was still transported but at least his sentence was eventually reduced.

One rioter who received particular consideration for a commutation of his death sentence was Thomas Goodman of Battle, who had been found guilty of arson. Incendiarism was regarded with particular horror by the benches and the public alike but unlike machine breaking, which was invariably carried out openly in broad daylight, the nocturnal character of rick burning and similar episodes meant that very few arsonists ever faced the courts. The meagre number who were tried and convicted received no sympathy from the bench<sup>199</sup> nor from Melbourne when he later considered petitions for clemency. Although arsonists represented the merest handful of the 1500 rioters eventually tried by the Assizes and Special Commissions, they comprised sixteen of the nineteen men who were hanged for their parts in the disturbances.<sup>200</sup>

Goodman appears to be the only male incendiary tried and convicted during the immediate flush of trials in 1831 who escaped the hangman's noose. One other male incendiary, the Hampshireman John Dore, was kept in gaol with his two compatriots Thomas Berriman and Henry Hunt for another year while the Crown sought evidence to bring a case against them. They were eventually tried in February 1832, their conviction being secured by the evidence of a fourth rioter who turned Queen's evidence in order to escape prosecution for the same acts of arson. All three were sentenced to death but Dore was eventually reprieved and sentenced to transportation for life; Berriman and Hunt were executed. The only convicted female incendiary, Elizabeth Studham, also escaped hanging; her sentence was commuted to transportation to Van Diemen's Land for life. Given the high percentage of executions amongst the convicted incendiaries, it is likely her gender was a factor in the decision that she not be executed but transported instead.

<sup>198</sup> *London Times*, 12 January 1831.

<sup>199</sup> Rudé noted that, in the southern counties only nine convicted arsonists out of forty eight were executed in the comparatively peaceful years of 1820 to 1827, yet forty seven out of eighty seven were executed in the same area between 1830 and 1834. Rudé, *Criminal and Victim*, p.110

<sup>200</sup> The Hammonds wrote that only six rioters were hanged (all for arson) and, somewhat enigmatically, that "aristocratic justice extracted three more lives" p.308. The above figure, quoted from Hobsbawm and Rudé at p.263, is the accurate number, being based on official records for all the affected counties, rather than a survey of the most affected districts.

Variouslly described as a labourer or a hurdle maker in official records, Thomas Goodman had been sentenced to death at the Sussex Special Gaol Delivery on 18 December 1830 for setting fire to a barn during the riots - although it appears he may have actually been involved in the setting of up to five fires in the Battle district.<sup>201</sup> It was reported that when the sentence of death was passed upon him, Goodman "wept out aloud, and said he could not account for the feeling which prompted him to commit the crime."<sup>202</sup> After contemplating his fate for a few days, however, he appears to have remembered the feelings that prompted him. Within a week of the sentence being passed, Melbourne received two petitions for mercy on his behalf claiming that Goodman believed he had been aroused by one of William Cobbett's speeches to commit the acts of incendiarism. It is clear that Goodman's case received special consideration from Melbourne only because of his value to the Home Office as a possible witness against one of the incendiary orators. Before the end of the year, his private secretary had written to the petitioners advising them that a fourteen day stay of execution had been ordered "with a view to making further inquiries into the case".<sup>203</sup> To one petitioner, Mr T. Barry, he wrote "if your correspondent can produce any satisfactory proof that the prisoner heard Cobbett's lecture at Battle, Lord Melbourne will be ready to receive it".<sup>204</sup> A few days later, while still awaiting confirmation of the existence of satisfactory evidence from Goodman, Melbourne expressed his strong desire to secure such evidence against Cobbett in a private letter to Mr T. Sanctuary:

Nothing is so difficult to prove as the utterance of words, so that it might be very difficult to found a prosecution upon any proof which could now be obtained; at the same time it would be a considerable importance to obtain such proof, as it would throw a new light upon the character and proceedings of the individual in question.<sup>205</sup>

The evidence was produced by Goodman - in the form of (ultimately) three separate written "confessions" in all of which he claimed to have been incited to arson by Cobbett's Battle speech:

(I) never should of thought of douing aney sutch thing if Mr Cobet had never given any lactures, I believe that their never would bean aney fires or mob in Battle nor maney other places if he never had given aney lectures at all...(This made)...a verrey great imprision on me and so inflame my mind and I from that time was determined to set stacks on fire.<sup>206</sup>

There is strong evidence to indicate that the recently enthroned King, who had a fear of the *sans culottes*, took an active interest in ensuring that evidence implicating Cobbett was secured. Lord Ellenborough wrote in his diary on 26 January 1831 that

<sup>201</sup> I Dyck, *William Cobbett and Rural Popular Culture*, CUP 1992, p.168.

<sup>202</sup> *Hampshire Telegraph*, 27 December 1830.

<sup>203</sup> HO 13/57, 31 December 1830.

<sup>204</sup> *Ibid*, 1 January 1831.

<sup>205</sup> Melbourne to T. Sanctuary Esq, 6 January 1831, L. Sanders(ed), *Lord Melbourne's Papers*, p. 126.

<sup>206</sup> *A Short Account of the Life and Death of Swing... Together with the Confession of Thomas Goodman* (London, 1831) - quoted in I Dyck, *William Cobbett and Rural Popular Culture*, p.168.

the King 'took great blame to himself for having been led to propose the pardoning of Goodman'.<sup>207</sup> Presumably, Melbourne must have discussed the proposal with the King at some earlier date, and this led to the offer of a pardon in return for an appropriate confession from Goodman which implicated Cobbett.

On 29 January advice was sent to the petitioners by Melbourne's Secretary that the King had granted Goodman a Royal Pardon, subject to his transportation for life.<sup>208</sup> Goodman subsequently gave evidence against Cobbett at his trial for seditious libel several months later, in which he was charged with having inflamed the minds of labourers and inciting them to acts of violence, riot and disorder and to the burning and destruction of corn grain machines. The hurdle maker's evidence was not sufficient to secure Cobbett's conviction, however. Approximately a hundred other men who had attended the Battle meeting put their signatures or crosses to a counter-declaration stating that Cobbett had not urged them in his speech to set fires. But what probably saved Cobbett was the tabling of copies of his earlier, much more conservative, speeches to the Luddites in which he rebuked them for machine-breaking.<sup>209</sup> Cobbett went free and Goodman, meanwhile, had been quickly embarked on the *Proteus*.

Melbourne did turn a deaf ear to many petitions though - particularly if they related to tradesmen. People realized that the courts had dealt more harshly with rioters who were categorised as tradesmen (or "mechanics"), and numerous ingenious petitions were drafted in attempts to argue that some of the rioters did not actually carry out their trades and should be treated more leniently. Thirty four year old Peter Houghton of Hampshire, for example, was described as a tythingman (hoop maker) in his court records.<sup>210</sup> A petition for clemency to Lord Melbourne pointed out that three of his fellow villagers had been found guilty in respect of the same incident and were only sentenced to twelve months imprisonment; the petitioners argued that he was given a much harsher sentence on account of him having been described as a mechanic rather than an agricultural labourer. They wrote that although he was frequently employed in coppice work "he is to all intents and purposes a farmers labourer, and during the last and preceding winters he had been in receipt of parochial relief as a distressed pauper."<sup>211</sup> The petition failed however; Houghton's original sentence of seven years transportation stood. Tragically, he died within three weeks of reaching Hobart on the *Eliza*, from tuberculosis contracted on the voyage. He left behind in Durley a wife on the parish and five children.

Another ingenious, but unsuccessful, petition was signed by many local landowners and gentry in favour of the Wiltshire shepherd Isaac Roberts, who had been sentenced to transportation for seven years. They claimed that in fact the machine breaking and robbing offences had been carried out by Isaac's well-known twin brother Stephen

<sup>207</sup> Lord Ellenborough's Diary, 26 January 1831, in Arthur Aspinall (ed) *Three Early Nineteenth-Century Diaries* (London 1952) - quoted in I Dyck, at p.263.

<sup>208</sup> Melbourne to T. Sanctuary, 29 January 1831.

<sup>209</sup> For an account of these events, see generally, I Dyck, *William Cobbett and Rural Popular Culture*, p.168 et seq.

<sup>210</sup> J Chambers, *Hampshire Machine Breakers*, p.243.

<sup>211</sup> Ibid.

Roberts. But it failed to sway Lord Melbourne, and Isaac sailed for Van Diemen's Land on the *Eliza*.

Clearly, the nature of the crime itself also had some influence over whether Melbourne would exercise any leniency. Although many labourers who engaged in simple episodes of machine breaking had their death sentences commuted to transportation, or their sentences of transportation reduced, the Crown's bleak view of the threat that anonymous Swing letters posed to civil order prevented Melbourne from showing mercy in the case of those few writers who were caught. Two such unfortunates were John Pagden, an eighteen year old shoemaker and Thomas Brown, a twenty year old groom, both of whom were sentenced to fourteen years transportation at the Sussex Assizes. In response to a letter from the Earl of Sussex seeking clemency in the case of Brown, Melbourne wrote back "I regret to inform your Lordship that the offence is of such a nature that I can hold out no prospect of a mitigation of the sentence".<sup>212</sup> A similar letter was sent to Richard Tamplin in respect of Pagden.<sup>213</sup> Both men were embarked on the *Eliza*.

Equally, on occasions judges and the nobility might intervene in the clemency process in an attempt to circumvent what mercy might have been shown by Melbourne if they did not think it was warranted. The 19 year old Wiltshire rioter Elias Kettle, for example, had been sentenced to seven years transportation. The Chairman of the local Assizes wrote to Melbourne to advise that Kettle had been dealt with twice before by him - for shooting a deer and stealing honey and a hive of bees, and the Earl of Shaftsbury must have written expressing some concern about any clemency being shown to Kettle also, because Melbourne wrote back - "My Dear Lord, I thank you for your information respecting Elias Kettle and I will give directions that the sentence of transportation passed upon him be carried into full effect."<sup>214</sup> Perhaps it was Shaftsbury's estates that Kettle had been poaching on. Ironically, Kettle had a spotless convict career in Van Diemen's Land after being transported on the *Eliza* and ended his term in the colony as a police constable - one of the few rioters turned government officer who did not blot his copybook. After receiving his free pardon, Kettle accompanied one of the major northern landowners to Port Phillip to help establish the new colony and later moved to New South Wales where he became a successful farmer.

One of the more dramatic and frantic bouts of petitioning took place in the county of Buckinghamshire in respect of the rioters who destroyed paper making machinery in the factory area of High Wycombe on 29 November 1830. In a gesture which only highlighted much of the irony in the riots and their aftermaths, a major petition was sent to Lord Melbourne which bore the signatures of seven of the factory owners whose machinery had been wrecked, seeking clemency for the rioters. Unfortunately the petition had no effect and most of the rioters were transported - all to Van Diemen's Land on the *Proteus*.<sup>215</sup> Two of the rioters, Thomas Blizzard (30, married ploughman) and John Sarney (54, married ploughman) had been sentenced to death for their leadership of the riots in the paper mills. A separate petition for mercy was

<sup>212</sup> Criminal Papers, Home Office. HO 13/57, 8 January 1831.

<sup>213</sup> Ibid, 28 January 1831.

<sup>214</sup> HO 13/57, Melbourne to Earl of Shaftesbury, 12 January 1831.

<sup>215</sup> *Bucks Gazette*, 29 January 1831.

made on their behalf and signed by "200 respectable housekeepers, including six clergymen, and the foreman and eight of the jurymen" who found them guilty.<sup>216</sup> Melbourne appears to have been swayed by this remarkable document and both men had their sentences reduced to transportation for life. Although Blizzard was transported on the *Proteus*, Sarney was left behind, almost definitely because of ill-health. Four years later, he was still in England awaiting transportation when he received a full pardon.

The final tally in respect of the Swing rioters was nineteen executed, 482 transported, 644 imprisoned in England (usually for periods of only a few months) and eight fined or whipped. A further 800 were acquitted or bound over.<sup>217</sup> Although these figures do not reflect a true "Bloody Assize", the transporting of so many countrymen had a devastating impact in their native areas:

In the south of England, there were whole communities that, for a generation, were stricken by the blow. From no other protest movement of the kind - from neither Luddites nor Chartists, nor trade unionists - was such a bitter price exacted.<sup>218</sup>

In fact, more men were transported in 1831 for their part in the Swing riots than the aggregate of transportees for all other incidents of social or political protest which swept England between 1790 and 1848.<sup>219</sup>

The rather sudden and quite unexpected bundling of this large number of Swing rioters into a most valuable cargo of rural workers and mechanics who were, in almost all respects, honest men, presented something of a delicious dilemma for the Home Office and the Colonial Office. From a purely utilitarian point of view, there was a great desire by both departments to secure the greatest benefit from their transportation and assignment. A number of opportunistic proposals were quickly received by the Government concerning how the machine breakers could be most profitably assigned. Spurred on by the riots, the Government was already grappling with the idea of colonial emigration as a means of dealing with its surplus rural labouring population and the poverty and crime that it created - but seeking a means that did not impose a financial burden on the country. As a result, two of the quite unusual proposals relating to the application of the machine breakers were seriously considered by members of the Government, and one was ultimately put into effect.<sup>220</sup>

### Special Arrangements Made For The Gloucestershire Rioters and Other Convicts Bound for the VDL Company

<sup>216</sup> *Bucks Gazette*, 22 January 1831.

<sup>217</sup> Hobsbawm and Rudé, p. 262.

<sup>218</sup> Hobsbawm and Rudé, p.263. For an almost mirror-image reflection of the same thought, see Joyce Marlow, *The Tolpuddle Martyrs*, Andre Deutsch, London, 1971, p. 35.

<sup>219</sup> D Kent and N Townsend (Eds), *Joseph Mason, Assigned Convict*, MUP 1996, p.5

<sup>220</sup> Other proposals that received very short shrift included a special arrangement that the rioters might be 'located in the neighbourhood of Captain Stuart's recent discoveries' (8 and 12 January 1831, CO 202/26) and that they be sent to the Swan River settlement (22 January 1831, CO 202/26).

Even as Melbourne was deliberating over the countless petitions for clemency that were directed to his Office, discussions were proceeding in other offices of the new government over the proposed fate of fifty of the machine breakers bound for Van Diemen's Land. The directors of the Van Diemen's Land Company had opened negotiations with Lord Goderich and Viscount Howick for the favoured assignment to its establishments in north west Van Diemen's Land of a large number of the machine breakers.

The Company's four large estates in the colony required a considerable workforce. Although essentially a pastoral concern, the Company was heavily engaged in agricultural pursuits at the time. The stockbreeding and leasing of land, which was to become its lifeblood, did not commence until a few years later. Its agricultural activities, combined with the deliberate isolation of their estates from other farming settlements,<sup>221</sup> meant that the Company had a particular requirement for agricultural labourers and tradesmen.<sup>222</sup> From its beginnings in the colony in 1826, the Company had constantly experienced difficulties in securing and keeping what it regarded as reliable workers. Experienced free labourers were not keen to work for the Company because of its isolation and arrogant attitude towards staff.<sup>223</sup> The Company was in many respects an anachronism from the moment it established itself in the colony as a major imperial enterprise.<sup>224</sup>

Its isolation also meant the local management could not even benefit from the experience of any other local settlers<sup>225</sup> and so it resorted to alternative means of securing workers for its estates.

The Company had used indentured labourers for a number of years, but with mixed results. Coming from English village societies, many of the labourers were unprepared for the isolation of the estates and the absolute power that the Company assumed it could exercise over their lives.<sup>226</sup> Consequently, many contrived to leave the Company's employment (by legal means or otherwise) at the earliest opportunity for the higher paid jobs in the north and the midlands.<sup>227</sup>

After observing the use of captured Aborigines in sealers' camps off Cape Grim near their Woolnorth property, Company agents had even experimented at an early stage with Aborigines as one means of solving its labour problems:

In the period when the company's boundaries were still being defined, several attempts were made to kidnap and domesticate Aboriginal men and women, but

<sup>221</sup> A.L. Meston, *The Van Diemen's Land Company 1825-1842*, Museum Committee, Launceston City Council, 1958.

<sup>222</sup> H.J.W Stokes, *The Settlement and Development of the VDL Company's Land Grants in North-western Van Diemen's Land 1824-1860*, MS, University of Tasmania, 1964, p.17.

<sup>223</sup> Stokes, p.55.

<sup>224</sup> J. Duxbury, *Colonial Servitude; Indentured and Assigned Servants of the VDL Company, 1825-1841*. Monash Publications in History, Number 4, 1989, p.1, et seq.

<sup>225</sup> Stokes, p.55.

<sup>226</sup> J Backhouse and G Walker, *Report of Messrs Backhouse and Walker of the Van Diemen's Land Company's Establishments*, CO 280/42, Reel 255, p.871.

<sup>227</sup> Stokes, p. 55 and Duxbury, p.19.

each resulted in the victim's death or escape, and reprisal against the company's property and servants.<sup>228</sup>

It is interesting to note that the other great agricultural company in Australia at the time, the New South Wales based Australian Agricultural Company, had also experimented with Aboriginal workers, and with far more successful results. Over the period 1824 to 1857 the Company carried at times up to forty Aboriginals on its pay sheets, employing them as shepherds, labourers, stockmen and boatmen. Over that period, they proved to be the most productive employees of the Agricultural Company.<sup>229</sup>

Ultimately, the Court of the Company in England (which acted as its board of directors) had developed a preference for a judicious mixture of indentured labourers and assigned convicts on its estates. But their local agent in Van Diemen's Land, Edward Curr, had a low opinion of free labour and preferred convicts, whom he regarded as more skilled and trustworthy.<sup>230</sup>

By the end of 1830 the labour situation, particularly in respect of tradesmen, had become critical on the Company's estates. But requests to the colony's Prison Superintendent, Josiah Spode, for assigned tradesmen met with terse refusals on the basis that there was a shortage of skilled men among the convicts. It did not matter whether it was a carpenter who was requested ("it is entirely out of my power at present; His Excellency having even called those carpenters who were on loan, into the Public Works")<sup>231</sup> or even a pair of sawyers ("the demand for men of this description is so great, and so many have obtained tickets of leave and pardons, that there is a difficulty in assisting the most needy settlers"),<sup>232</sup> the tenor of Spode's replies was always the same. The refusal to assign tradesmen or even experienced farm workers to the Company estates was the Company's most frequent cause of complaint to the Convict Department.<sup>233</sup> Early in 1835, Curr once even castigated Arthur in person about what he saw as the Lieutenant-Governor's deliberate failure to assign convict mechanics to the Company.<sup>234</sup>

It was clear to the Court that if any success were to be had in securing a sizeable number of agricultural workers and tradesmen, the Company had to use its influence in England to make an arrangement with the Home Government before the convict transports even sailed. The trials of the machine breakers offered the Company an opportunity to do this. A vice president of the Court of the Company was Joseph Cripps, who was also the Chairman of the Gloucester Quarter Sessions, which sentenced twenty four rioters to transportation. He reported to a fellow director,

<sup>228</sup> Duxbury, p.3, referring to N.J.B. Plomley (ed), *Friendly Mission; The Tasmanian Journals and Papers of George Augustus Robinson, 1829-1834* THRA, 1966, p.205.

<sup>229</sup> M Hannah, *Aboriginal Workers in the Australian Agricultural Company 1824-1857*, *Labour History*, No. 82, May 2002.

<sup>230</sup> Meston, pp. 50 and 58/59; see also Rudé, *Captain Swing* and VDL, p.12.

<sup>231</sup> NSS VDL 14, Correspondence Respecting the Assignment of Convicts in the Company's Service 1826-1841, Prison Superintendent's Message. 24 September 1830.

<sup>232</sup> *Ibid*, 16 September, 1830.

<sup>233</sup> Stokes, p.60.

<sup>234</sup> Meston, p.34. Meston continued "Having insulted the Governor in this way, he returned by coach to Launceston in high dudgeon."

James Bischoff, that they were "all excellent workmen, strong and useful men".<sup>235</sup> Cripps was one of two members of the Court who was also a Member of Parliament. John Pearce, the Company's president, was the other. The available evidence makes it clear that the directors used their influence as parliamentarians in an attempt to secure these Gloucestershiremen and others for their estates in Van Diemen's Land.<sup>236</sup>

The Company had some earlier success in bargaining with the Home Office for preferential treatment in return for the assisted transport of free settlers to the island colony. In 1828 it had negotiated a pro-rata reduction in the quit-rent on its estates, in return for an agreement to transport thirty five indentured labourers out to the colony at its own cost. The rebate was calculated at the rate of twenty pounds for every woman and sixteen pounds for every man. It was an indulgence which Lieutenant – Governor Arthur urged his masters in London never to extend to the Company again:

...it will undoubtedly lead to much dissatisfaction as there are no settlers of any degree of respectability in the Colony who will not most thankfully bring out servants on the same condition.<sup>237</sup>

Bischoff first approached Lord Goderich personally on some date shortly before 8 January 1831 - well before some of the machine breakers had even been sentenced - and proposed that up to seventy of them should be assigned to the Company on their arrival in Van Diemen's Land.<sup>238</sup> It would appear that at this meeting he first raised the possibility of the company assisting in the passage out to the colony of a number of labourers in return for this indulgence. The date is significant; Viscount Howick, as parliamentary Under-Secretary at the Colonial Office, had just been given by Goderich as one of his earliest tasks in the role, the undertaking of a thorough review of the allied problems of colonial emigration and land administration.<sup>239</sup> The week before Bischoff and Goderich spoke, Howick had already circulated to selected individuals outside his department some proposals for comment that included the assisted emigration of free labourers to the colonies. The project had been initiated as a means of alleviating the distress that the government, having experienced the Swing riots, now clearly accepted existed among village labourers in the southern counties.<sup>240</sup> There is little doubt that Howick, when instructed by Goderich to look into this new proposal from the Company, would have regarded it as an opportunity to experiment with a means of assisted emigration which was consistent with the government's desire to find a solution which did not impose an additional burden on the English taxpayer.<sup>241</sup> The Company also attempted to give its proposal an altruistic flavour by mentioning that one advantage to be gained by assigning a large number of the machine breakers to the Company's isolated estates would be that these men, who were not ordinary criminals, could be kept apart from the bad influences of the other

<sup>235</sup> Rudé, *Captain Swing and VDL*, p 13.

<sup>236</sup> Rudé, *ibid*, p.16, Hobsbawm and Rudé, p.270.

<sup>237</sup> Arthur to Under Secretary Hay, 4 February 1828, *HRA Series III, Vol VII*, p.45. See also Goderich to Darling, 23 January 1831, *HRA Series I, Vol XVI*, p.37.

<sup>238</sup> GO 1/13. Bischoff to Goderich, 14 January 1831.

<sup>239</sup> P. Burroughs, *Britain and Australia 1831 - 1855; A Study in Imperial Relations and Crown Lands Administration*, Clarendon Press, Oxford 1967, p.38.

<sup>240</sup> *Ibid*.

<sup>241</sup> *Ibid*, p 60.



convicts already in the colony.<sup>242</sup> But Bischoff failed to mention any means by which the machine breakers could be quarantined from the apparent negative influences of the more than one hundred assigned convicts already working on the Company's estates.

On 10 January, Viscount Howick wrote to Melbourne at Goderich's direction, seeking his views on the matter. Melbourne had no objection to the proposal but reminded Howick that Circular Head, where the Company wanted their assignees to be disembarked, was more than ninety miles from Launceston. He suggested that the Company instead be required to take responsibility for the men at the latter port, if Lieutenant Governor Arthur in his discretion agreed to send the chartered transport to the north of the island in the first place.<sup>243</sup> Goderich then wrote to Bischoff that "unless the Company were prepared to propose to send out free servants as stated in personal correspondence... the difficulties appeared to be insurmountable".<sup>244</sup> At first, the Company balked at such a proposal but, when Goderich made it clear that he was determined to enforce the requirement, they decided ("upon further consideration")<sup>245</sup> on 14 January 1831 that "if HM Government will assign the Van Diemen's Land Co sixty or seventy of the Convicts, on their arrival at Launceston, the Directors will engage to send out three free emigrants for every five convicts that may be assigned to the Company."<sup>246</sup> The next day, Bischoff wrote again, requesting that "though the bulk will be agricultural labourers, there may be a few Blacksmiths, Builders and Carpenters amongst them" and that they be sent in two drafts to enable their easier assimilation into the stations.<sup>247</sup>

On 22 January, Goderich consented to the assignment of fifty convicts ("... the number originally applied for") on the basis of the three for five agreement, but his secretary advised Bischoff that "Lord Goderich does not feel at liberty to accede to the wishes of the Company that any selection of the Convicts should be made in this Country".<sup>248</sup>

This last condition did not appear to deter the Court; they forwarded a shopping list of their fifty preferred convicts (fifteen from Wiltshire, eleven from Berkshire and all twenty four of the machine breakers sentenced in Gloucestershire) to their agent in Van Diemen's Land, Edward Curr, in the confident expectation that he would nevertheless be able to secure their services once they landed in the colony.<sup>249</sup> On 24 January, a fortnight before the *Eliza* sailed, Goderich forwarded a despatch to Lieutenant-Governor Arthur outlining the agreement reached with the Company and requesting him to give effect to its terms - with a proviso:

I have not deemed it right to comply with the requests contained in the second of the enclosed letters, as it might have been considered unfair towards other

<sup>242</sup> Bischoff to Goderich, 8 January 1831, CO 280/32.

<sup>243</sup> HO 13/57, S.M. Phillips to Howick, 12 January 1831, p.90.

<sup>244</sup> GO 1/13, Goderich to Bischoff, 14 January 1831.

<sup>245</sup> Ibid.

<sup>246</sup> Ibid.

<sup>247</sup> Ibid, 15 January 1831.

<sup>248</sup> Ibid, 22 January 1831.

<sup>249</sup> Rudé, Captain Swing and Van Diemen's Land, p.16.

settlers if the selection of the individual convicts to be assigned to the Company had been made in this country; you will therefore exercise your own judgements in making it - It is, however, my desire that you should attend to the wishes of the Company as far as it may be practicable to do so with a due regard to the claims of others.<sup>250</sup>

### **The Proposal to Send the Swing Rioters to Trinidad**

The second proposal relating to the machine breakers was not taken up, although the correspondence relating to the entire episode reveals the extent to which Goderich and Howick were seriously considering all options before them, and the fact that some members of the government did not regard the machine breakers with quite the same unsympathetic views as Melbourne.<sup>251</sup>

The governor of Trinidad, major general Lewis Grant, was in London at the time many of the Swing trials were taking place. On 12 January 1831, he wrote to Goderich suggesting that the rioters should not be transported to the Australian colonies but instead be sent to his colony and be accompanied by their families at the government's expense:

My Lord

If we may credit some of the public prints there would appear to be a general feeling in the country to save the lives, and perhaps in other respects to mitigate the sentences which have been pronounced on the unfortunate persons who have been lately tried by Special Commissions - It may be presumed that many of these men have not been accustomed to crime....I therefore respectfully take the liberty of placing in your Lordship's view that instead of sending them to the usual destination of hardened criminals, they might perhaps be advantageously disposed of in Trinidad as a nucleus for the formation of a White and free population, more especially if those who have families could take them with them...<sup>252</sup>

Goderich passed the letter on to Howick, who enthusiastically embraced the proposal. He forwarded it to Lord Melbourne's office with a lengthy formal analysis of the submission, but also sent a short handwritten note to George Lamb MP (Melbourne's brother), urging him to raise it with his brother as soon as possible:

Dear Lamb,

I send you an official letter on a subject which I think of the greatest importance, do pray get Lord Melbourne to take it into immediate consideration.....The objections to sending these convicts to N.S. Wales are of the strongest kind both for their own sake and as an example, it might also

<sup>250</sup> Despatch No 7, 24 January 1831, Goderich to Arthur, GO 1/13.

<sup>251</sup> I am indebted to the assistance of Kevin Green, who provided me with the reference to this correspondence.

<sup>252</sup> Grant to Goderich, 12 January 1831, PRO 953.

violently interfere with any plan of emigration which may be adopted; on the other hand the voyage to Trinidad would be much cheaper and they would be of the greatest use there. You may perhaps think it hard when felons of an ordinary kind are sent to so good a climate as N.S.W. that those who certainly ought not to be treated more harsh by transportation to the W Indies, but I think the severity of the punishment may be mitigated in other ways, particularly by allowing them to have their families with them, this would not be allowed in N.S.W. without making transportation rather a reward than a punishment.<sup>253</sup>

The longer, official letter dated 14 January 1831 was in more measured terms but expressed the same view:

Lord Goderich is of the view that the proposal deserves the closest attention of Lord Melbourne. It appears to accomplish the penal objects in view, and that of removing the persons in question from the Country, at a considerably less expense for conveyance than is involved in their transportation to New South Wales: and it has the recommendation of separating from other Convicts a class of persons whose offences partake more or less of a political character, and do not necessarily imply a great degree of moral depravity.

The comparative cheapness of conveyance would also facilitate an arrangement for permitting the wives of the Convicts to accompany them, which indeed appears to Lord Goderich to be an indispensable part of the project. Thus, whilst there would be no repetition in Trinidad of the system by which New South Wales has been so disproportionately peopled with Males, that existing disproportion in New South Wales would not be aggravated by the addition of numerous Male convicts who are now about to embark, and these convicts would be saved from the contagion of the peculiar vices with which the population of New South Wales is so deeply tainted...

Lord Goderich is aware that a new Convict Establishment cannot be founded without some cost, but he conceives that the ease with which the necessities of life are obtained, and the high price of labour in Trinidad, together with the demand for labour in public works, might enable the Establishment to place itself in the situation of a Creditor upon the Colonial Treasury to a considerable amount, and in other ways, after a short time, to defray its own expenses without aid from this Country.

His Lordship would also contemplate with much satisfaction the adoption of a measure which would tend in its eventual results to augment the number of free labourers in a West Indian Colony and to aid in producing a free population of British descent in one of the most important of the British Possessions in the Caribbean Sea.<sup>254</sup>

<sup>253</sup> Howick to Lamb, undated, PRO 953.

<sup>254</sup> Howick to Melbourne, 14 January 1831, PRO 953.

A short note of acknowledgement on this letter stated 'Lord Melbourne will not fail to give this subject his most careful attention' but immediately thereafter is another note to the effect 'Lord Melbourne thinks there are very great objections. Nothing is to be done in this Business - Lord Melbourne will confer with Lord Goderich'. The proposal was not adopted. It is quite likely that the immediate imperative to remove the machine breakers quickly, and in a manner which demonstrated to the still restless countryside that their transportation should be seen as a severe punishment rather than some kind of reward in the form of assisted emigration for the men and their families weighed most heavily on Melbourne's mind.

Both the above proposals were initiated as a result of the valuable nature of the cargo represented by the Swing rioters. For obvious reasons, both the Van Diemen's Land Company and the Governor of Trinidad were keen to get their hands on as many of them as possible. Although being driven by interests that were worlds apart, both proposals brought together the notions of assisted emigration and convicts. In the case of the Van Diemen's Land Company, rural workers would be provided with assisted emigration by the Company, in return for being assigned a group of the machine breakers. In the case of the colony of Trinidad, the families of the machine breakers would be provided with free passage to the colony to ensure the machine breakers remained as the foundation for a white colony of agricultural workers.

The unique nature of the machine breakers as a relatively large group of well behaved, skilled convicts meant that the proposals from the Company and the Governor of Trinidad were unlikely to ever be made in the same terms again in respect of any other boatload of convicts. But the fact that both proposals involved the counterpoint of assisted emigration (albeit in very different terms) demonstrates that thought was being given to how the Transportation System could be used as a means of assisting the emigration of people out of England.

Both proposals were put to Goderich and Howick at a time when their minds were already turned to the questions of relieving the pressure on the English rural population, and the need to increase the populations of the Australian colonies with more free workers. The Swing riots had merely reinforced in their minds the need for a timely solution to the pressure of what they saw as an excess of unemployed rural workers. A small number of politicians had taken up the cause of the impoverished rural labourers. The social reformer Henry 'Orator' Hunt MP was quickly involved in advocating relief for them within England, but others advocated that the solution lay not in repression, but in assisting their free passage to colonies where employment and opportunities were alive. In early December 1830, Charles Tennant MP had written to the new prime minister, urging him to take up the cause of emigration; 'By holding out the prospect for the amelioration of the condition of the unemployed Labouring Class, the Burnings may be stopped: but by force, never.'<sup>255</sup>

The imponderable factor for Grey, Goderich and Howick, however, had been how to pay the cost of the emigration of the workers and their families. For many parishes,

<sup>255</sup> Tennant to Lord Grey, 4 December 1830 CO 384/28, p.606. Tennant had, by this time, already advised Goderich he proposed to move a motion in the House of Commons for the establishment of a Commission to report on how emigration to the colonies could be used to improve the condition of the labouring class in England. Tennant to Goderich, 2 December 1830, CO 384/28, p.604.

the much cheaper cost of the voyage to North America meant that assisting an unemployed rural worker to emigrate to one of the Australian colonies was simply not feasible.<sup>256</sup> Whatever the solution, it was clear that the funding would have to come from the colonies in some form or other rather than the Home Government.

The proposal put by the Company (and, to a lesser extent, that put by the governor of Trinidad) relied upon the convicts themselves being the means by which the assisted emigration of people to the colonies could be achieved. The severely limited number of transported convicts that could be described as valuable rural workers would have meant that either proposal had a short life span and ultimately a longer term vehicle for funding the emigration of large numbers of people to the colonies would have to be found elsewhere.

The possibility of using convicts as the means for financing assisted emigration was clearly alive in the thoughts of Goderich and Howick at this time though, and the approaches by the Company and the governor of Trinidad would have demonstrated that convicts might be able to fund the emigration of excess workers.

It is worthy of note, for example, that Goderich wrote to Governor Darling in New South Wales on 23 January 1831, with a series of proposals for how assisted emigration to the colonies might be achieved. This letter was drafted after agreement had been reached on the Van Diemen's Land Company offer, and while machine breakers were still being sentenced to transportation by the Special Commissions and Assizes. Goderich's letter proposed three possible means of funding the assisted emigration of rural labourers from southern England. They were a tax upon the labour of convicts (effectively a charge for their services), the use of proceeds from the sale of land, and the bonding of labourers to particular masters who paid for their passage out to the colonies. The timeliness of the letter is particularly worthy of note, because it was sent to Governor Darling on the *Eleanor*, a convict transport which brought 139 machine breakers to that colony:

Sir,

Propositions have recently been made to His Majesty's Government with the view of calling their attention to the importance of endeavouring to relieve the distress prevailing amongst the agricultural labourers of the South of England by enabling Parishes to remove to the Colonies those who are without employment.

New South Wales might, it is represented, receive with advantage a considerable number of such emigrants; and, in case the Government should decide to adopt any such plan, I think it material that you should take the subject into your immediate consideration.

The points to be more particularly looked to relate to the means, which the Colony may possess of contributing something towards defraying the expense of the voyage. Should the Parishes, now burthened by a greater number of labourers than they can employ, seek to relieve themselves in the manner

<sup>256</sup> R Madgwick, *Immigration into Eastern Australia, 1788-1851*, Sydney 1969, p. 63.

contemplated, their object will naturally be to do so on the easiest terms they can; and they will, therefore, rather direct their emigrants to North America than to the Australian Colonies. The latter will consequently lose what would be to them an advantage of the greatest importance, unless means can be devised of making up to the Parishes for the increased expense resulting from a longer voyage.

In considering the best means of providing the necessary funds for this purpose, it has occurred that recourse might be had to a tax upon the labour of convicts, to an extension of the sale of land, and to advances which might be obtained from such Settlers as might desire to secure, for a limited time, the services of the emigrants.

A tax upon the labor of convicts is suggested....by the Commissioners appointed by His Majesty to enquire into the revenue and expenditure of the Colonies. The tax, proposed by them, is only ten shillings a year for each assigned convict, and was intended merely for general purposes, without reference to the objection I have now in view. That object is, however, one to which it seems there would be a peculiar propriety in applying the revenue to be derived from such a tax if it is to be imposed; nor do I see any reason against doing so, or even against making it heavier than the Commissioners have proposed.<sup>257</sup>

A less comprehensive despatch outlining the possibility of the sale of colonial land as a means of subsidising emigration was also sent to Arthur on the *Eliza*.<sup>258</sup>

Ultimately, the adoption of Edward Gibbon Wakefield's system resolved the question of how to fund the assisted emigration of free labourers to the colonies. It did not rely upon convicts as the colonial asset to be sold or rented out, but upon land. The proposal was similar to the second option outlined by Goderich in his letter to Darling of 23 January 1831. Given its first trial in the new colony of South Australia, the Wakefield System involved the orderly sale and settlement of the land, the proceeds of the sale being used to fund the passage of free workers and their families out to the colony. Its ultimate effect would also be to make redundant the need to use convicts as labour in the colonies.

<sup>257</sup> Goderich to Darling, 23 January 1831, *HRA Series I, Vol. XVI*, p.34.

<sup>258</sup> See *HRA Series I, Vol XVI*, pp 34-38.

## PART 3

### THE VOYAGES OUT, AND LIFE IN VAN DIEMEN'S LAND

#### The Cargoes of the *Eliza* and the *Proteus*

A.G.L. Shaw has written that, in the 1830's, as many as one in four convicts sentenced to transportation never left England.<sup>259</sup> In the case of the machine breakers, only twenty three of the 505 men sentenced to transportation remained in the country.<sup>260</sup> The apparent desire of Lord Melbourne to transport as many as possible even led to men being transported whose utility in the colonies was questionable. John Eyres of Wiltshire, for example, had only one leg, and both Thomas Green of Hampshire and Samuel Draper of Essex had only one arm. John Kimber of Hampshire had only one hand and his fellow county man Edward Sydenham had a withered and useless left hand. Others like William Baker and the aforementioned Peter Houghton were deaf.

The processing and transportation of the machine breakers was also undertaken with uncharacteristic haste and vigour, indicating the determination of Melbourne to remove them as quickly as possible from England. It was not uncommon for convicts to languish in a hulk for many months awaiting transportation, but the first shiploads of machine breakers were assigned to vessels very quickly. They were all first sent to the prison hulk *York* in Portsmouth Harbour, where many stayed only a matter of weeks before being transported on the *Eliza* and the *Eleanor*. This contrasts with the significantly longer periods that the fourteen ordinary criminals transported on the *Proteus* with the machine breakers had been waiting in the hulks. The *Proteus* left Portsmouth on 12 April 1831 but two of its small cargo of ordinary convicts had been tried and sentenced at the Middlesex Gaol Delivery in September 1829.<sup>261</sup> Most of the remaining twelve had been sentenced in March, April and May of 1830.

It is likely that many hundreds of ordinary convicts who had been languishing in hulks for lengthy periods awaiting transportation were held over to make room for the machine breakers.

Clearly, the Home Office wished to remove the rioters as quickly as possible. Lord Melbourne was dealing with a difficult situation. Although there had initially been a wave of public apprehension about the riots, the fierce sentences handed down by the Special Commissions and, to a lesser extent, the Assizes appear to have generated public sympathy for these men. He may have been surprised by the ensuing wave of petitions seeking clemency, which were often signed by magistrates, jurors, local landowners, peers and church officers. Melbourne responded to these written pleas for clemency and arranged for the commutation of many of the death sentences, but the continued presence in England of the machine breakers in gaols and on the hulk *York* kept alive the issue in the minds of the public. Henry Hunt MP had already

<sup>259</sup> A.G.L. Shaw, *Convicts and the Colonies*, 1966 (1978 edition), p.150.

<sup>260</sup> Hobsbawm and Rudé, p.262.

<sup>261</sup> CON 27/7.

proposed a motion in the House of Commons for a general amnesty for all the rioters and the debate was set down to take place on 8 February 1831.

There is a contemporary diary entry of what happened next which illustrates both the political and the utilitarian imperatives to move them out of the country as quickly as possible. The diarist was Mary Frampton the wife of Squire Frampton who, three years later, was to take a leading role in the entrapment of the Tolpuddle Martyrs. During the Swing riots her husband had also assembled a band of 150 special constables from their village to help put down any unrest in Dorsetshire:

Parliament opened on Feb 3<sup>rd</sup>. There was a petition to the King to pardon all the unhappy men who had been convicted at special assizes. Fortunately, however, as they were already on board the transport and the wind fair, the petition would be too late. Care was taken at the deportation of these men to keep them separate from convicts of a different description and to send them to those parts of New Zealand and New Holland where their agricultural knowledge and labour might be useful. Thus very probably at a future time rendering our disturbances here a blessing to our Antipodes.<sup>262</sup>

As indicated by Mary Frampton, Melbourne succeeded in getting away the first and by far the largest shipload of machine breakers (on the *Eliza*) two days before the debate took place, and the second shipload (on the *Eleanor*) only eleven days later. Although the Parliamentary motion was doomed from the start - Hunt received support from only one other member on the division (Hume<sup>263</sup>) - it was a widely reported debate and had the potential to be politically damaging if allowed to continue too long. In his Parliamentary speech, Hunt said that he spoke on behalf of "the best labourers in England- who are now confined in gaol or on board the hulks".<sup>264</sup> The Hammonds wrote that the debate itself reflected little credit on the House of Commons and singled out George Lamb MP for special condemnation for amusing himself with jests about Edward Looker's poor letter writing ability.<sup>265</sup>

### **The Make up of the Assignment Lists of the *Proteus* and the *Eliza***

The 322 machine breakers carried on the *Proteus* and the *Eliza* comprised 265 men transported for seven years, thirty seven for fourteen years, and twenty for life. Almost all of those transported for life or fourteen years had originally been sentenced to death, but their sentences had been commuted by Melbourne. The majority on the *Eliza* were seven year men, whereas a greater percentage of those on the *Proteus* were transported for periods of fourteen years or life.

The *Eliza* and the *Proteus* carried cargoes of transportees who, by all ordinary criteria of the time, amounted to an uncommon group of convicts. Their characteristics are

<sup>262</sup> Diary entry of Mary Frampton, February 1831, quoted in M Firth and M Hopkinson, *The Tolpuddle Martyrs*, London 1934, pp. 105/106.

<sup>263</sup> Joseph Hume MP represented Middlesex from November 1830 until July 1837. He had a particular concern about the economic distress being suffered in agricultural counties at this time. *DNB* vol. X.

<sup>264</sup> *London Times*, 9 February 1831.

<sup>265</sup> Hammonds, p.315.



considered below under the headings of trade or calling, county of origin, age, marital status, prior convictions, financial situation, and links to fellow transportees.

## Trade or Calling

Almost all the machine breakers were agricultural labourers of some kind, or tradesmen. Any uncertainty that exists in determining the callings of individual machine breakers is reflective of a debate that has developed in recent years as historical researchers make greater statistical use of colonial records like convict indents, conduct records and assignment lists - which often record different occupations for the same men and women - to develop biographical profiles of typical convicts. Nicholas and others,<sup>266</sup> for example, made extensive use of such records in the development of their argument that convicts were in fact a more skilled and useful group of workers in the colonies (more particularly in New South Wales) than previously thought. Shaw has called into question the conclusions they draw, noting that they relied heavily and uncritically upon convict indents, which merely recorded the verbal statements of the prisoners as to their occupations.<sup>267</sup> More recently, Oxley<sup>268</sup> has relied on the same kind of colonial records to question the widely held belief that female convicts were merely professional criminals or prostitutes, with few real skills to contribute to the development of the colonies. Oxley has stoutly defended the accuracy of her statistical approach,<sup>269</sup> but it has been called into question by some historians<sup>270</sup> who argue that she, also, has relied too uncritically on the accuracy of the indents, the compilation of which involved a great degree of subjectivity on the part of their authors. A similar warning does need to be sounded about the records in respect of the machine breakers.

Although the colonial records in relation to the callings of the machine breakers do need to be treated with some care, there is equally no doubt that these men did in all cases have some experience in the trades or callings that were ultimately ascribed to them. The colonial records such as the assignment lists and convict indents almost universally ascribe rural trades to the machine breakers.<sup>271</sup> Two reasons explain this almost universal characterization of these men as either tradesmen or agricultural workers of some kind.

The first is tied up with the well-documented fact that many of the non-tradesmen machine breakers (ie the labourers and ploughmen) were members of the now largely casualised class of agricultural workmen; they did not have regular employment as we know it today. Over a typical year, they would have drifted in and out of work on farms and in paper factories, interspersed with periods spent working for parish relief on roadwork gangs. A large number of the petitions for clemency forwarded to

<sup>266</sup> S. Nicholas (ed), *Convict Workers: Reinterpreting Australia's Past*, CUP 1988.

<sup>267</sup> A.G.L. Shaw, *The Convict Question*, 1966 and 1998, *Tasmanian Historical Studies*, Vol. 6, No.2, 1999, p.8.

<sup>268</sup> D. Oxley, *Convict Maids: The Forced Migration of Women to Australia*, CUP 1996.

<sup>269</sup> *Ibid*, p. 25 et seq.

<sup>270</sup> See Lyndall Ryan's book review of Oxley's *Convict Maids*, *Australian Historical Studies*, No. 109, Oct 1997, p. 204.

<sup>271</sup> There were a few notable exceptions; two were described as house servants and one was a canal boat builder, and John Boyes of course, was a farmer.

Melbourne alluded to the subject rioters having often worked for parish relief. Upon their arrival in Van Diemen's Land, the bureaucrat's desire to describe a convict's trade or calling in as brief and succinct a way as possible for the purposes of their records would often lead to only a short note being taken down of a convict's background, regardless of how many callings he had worked at. There was also possibly a tendency for officers in the colony to describe the trade or calling of assigned convicts in terms of what was relevant to the needs of the colony. It is instructive, for example, to compare the occupation descriptions of the Gloucestershire rioters as recorded by Wyatt - working from records in England<sup>272</sup> - with those recorded by colonial officers for the same men when they reached Van Diemen's Land. Wyatt describes the two brothers Joshua and Robert Stevens, for example, as tinkers and razor grinders. When they reach Van Diemen's Land, they are recorded in the assignment list as ploughmen<sup>273</sup> - a more relevant and valuable calling for a convict in a rural based colony. Equally, William Whitchell is described as a labourer by Wyatt but is a vegetable gardener by the time he reaches Van Diemen's Land. Thomas Weaving and Thomas Smith are labourers who become ploughmen during the same sea journey. And Worthy Mann is a labourer who becomes a stonemason. Even the unfortunate Peter Houghton, who died within a few weeks of reaching Hobart, is recorded as a ploughman in the assignment list although his calling was recorded in England as tythingman - perhaps a not overly valuable or relevant trade in the colony at the time. And John East from Buckinghamshire was a letter founder by his first trade, although that would not have been a valued calling in the colony, and so his indent entry was expanded to include the occupation of labourer.<sup>274</sup>

Other occupations that were not relevant were also dropped from the machine breakers' records in the colony. Over a dozen of the Buckinghamshire rioters who took part in the High Wycombe riots, which involved the destruction of paper making machinery, have been described as factory workers in different official English records and in historical texts<sup>275</sup> but only one of them (Samuel Summerfield) is described in the assignment list of the *Proteus* as a paper maker, while another (John Dandridge) is described as a farm labourer and paper maker.<sup>276</sup> The other Wycombe rioters are all described as labourers, ploughmen or shepherds although it is obvious that many of them worked as paper makers in the factories at some time or other.

The second reason is that some of these mid-ocean changes of trade or upgrading of agricultural skills may have been due to the shrewdness of the individual machine breaker convict, who knew that a transportee with a valued trade or calling could secure a better assignment in the colony. Forsyth, for example, refers to this tendency:

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<sup>272</sup> I. Wyatt (ed) *Transportees From Gloucestershire to Australia 1783-1842*, Gloucester, 1988.

<sup>273</sup> CON 27/7.

<sup>274</sup> CON 14/3.

<sup>275</sup> Including the Hammonds, and Hobsbawm and Rudé.

<sup>276</sup> CON 27/7

On their disembarkation, men of all callings, hearing of the great demand for farm labourers, described themselves as such when often they did not know a plough from a wheel-barrow.<sup>277</sup>

Apart from two self-proclaimed tradesmen described below who failed to work at their trades for very long in the Loan Gang - and so may have been found wanting in their skills - there is no direct evidence to indicate that any machine breakers lied or exaggerated about their work experience when being interviewed by colonial officials.

What is clear, nevertheless, is that most of the machine breakers did in fact have a background of working on farms, whether it was for a few seasons or an entire lifetime. This made them a valuable commodity in Van Diemen's Land, where agricultural labourers made up as little as eight per cent of the list on the typical convict transport that dropped anchor in the Derwent River.<sup>278</sup>

The comparatively large number of machine breakers described as village tradesmen or artisans (often called "mechanics") on the two vessels would have also represented a valuable cargo for the colony. At the time, it was unusual for any transport to carry more than two or three mechanics. There is some historical uncertainty about the number of mechanics on the vessels, and it is likely that the number has been traditionally inflated by the inclusion of persons who would not normally qualify as artisans. Rudé, for example, states that sixty four of the machine breakers sent to Van Diemen's Land (all of whom but for four were on the *Proteus* or the *Eliza*) were village craftsmen and tradesmen.<sup>279</sup> He uses a generous definition of tradesman, which includes anything above the unskilled labourer, and so includes top and pit sawyers - callings that many would not regard as a trade. In addition, in his 1963 paper on the Swing Rioters in Van Diemen's Land, he lists a number of trades that were not present on either vessel. These included schoolmasters, chimney sweeps, carpet weavers, barbers and tinsmiths. It is likely that he confused the results of his research on the Sydney-bound *Eleanor*, with his research on the *Proteus* and the *Eliza*, because the former vessel did include these callings among its cargo.<sup>280</sup>

If sawyers and other semi - skilled workers are excluded, limiting the list to generally acknowledged trades like blacksmiths, carpenters, brickmakers, bricklayers, carpenters, wheelwrights, stonemasons, tailors, tanners and butchers, then Tables 2 and 3 below indicate that there were at most forty two artisans or tradespersons on the *Eliza* and twelve on the *Proteus* - figures that are still exceptionally high for the times. Rudé does point out, however, that although these ratios were high, they were

<sup>277</sup> W. D. Forsyth, *Governor Arthur's Convict System, Van Diemen's Land 1824-1836*, SUP 1970, p.114. See also D. Oxley, *Convict Maids*, p. 21.

<sup>278</sup> A McKay, *The Assignment System of Labour in VDL 1824-1842*, MS University of Tasmania, 1958, p.157. This number may be at the lower end - A.G.L. Shaw notes that agricultural labourers, although comprising nearly a third of the English occupied population, amounted to less than a fifth of those transported. A.G.L. Shaw, *Convicts and the Colonies*, p. 160.

<sup>279</sup> Rudé, *Captain Swing and VDL*, p.11.

<sup>280</sup> In support of this argument, see the almost identical list that he recounts for the New South Wales bound machine breakers on the *Eleanor* in his article *Captain Swing* in NSW, *Historical Studies*, April 1965, vol 40, no.44, p.470.

surpassed by the *Eleanor*, on which one in three were, according to his research, village craftsmen or artisans.<sup>281</sup>

**TABLE 2**

**TRADES/CALLINGS OF MACHINE BREAKERS ON THE *ELIZA***

COUNTY	LABOURER	CRAFTSMAN	OTHER	TOTAL
<b>WILTSHIRE</b>	<b>81</b>	<b>19</b>	<b>1 Servant</b>	<b>101</b>
<b>KENT</b>	<b>15</b>	<b>6</b>		<b>21</b>
<b>OXFORD</b>	<b>8</b>	<b>1</b>		<b>9</b>
<b>HAMPSHIRE</b>	<b>24</b>	<b>8</b>	<b>1 Farmer</b>	<b>33</b>
<b>BERKSHIRE</b>	<b>2</b>	<b>2</b>		<b>4</b>
<b>ESSEX</b>	<b>15</b>	<b>1</b>		<b>16</b>
<b>GLOUCESTER</b>	<b>23</b>	<b>1</b>		<b>24</b>
<b>SUSSEX</b>	<b>11</b>	<b>5</b>		<b>16</b>
<b>TOTALS</b>	<b>178</b>	<b>43</b>	<b>2</b>	<b>224</b>

(The Numerical Return from the Principal Superintendent's Office in Van Diemen's Land, for comparative purposes, records the trades or callings of the *Eliza* convicts as ploughmen (142), farm labourers(21), grooms (4), shepherds (4), gardeners (4), masons (2), bricklayers (7), carpenters/wheelwrights (11), blacksmiths (10), shoemakers (4), tailors (3), brick makers (4), butchers (2), millwright (1), and sawyers (5).<sup>282</sup> In a number of cases, however, the descriptions of the trades for individual machine breakers on the assignment list or their indents do not align with these figures.)

<sup>281</sup> Ibid.

<sup>282</sup> CSO 1/524/11376, p.96.

TABLE 3

TRADES/CALLINGS OF MACHINE BREAKERS ON THE *PROTEUS*

COUNTY	LABOURER	CRAFTSMAN	OTHER	TOTAL
WILTSHIRE	11	3		14
OXFORDSHIRE	1		1 Canal boat builder	2
HAMPSHIRE	19	3	1 Servant	23
BUCKINGHAM SHIRE	26	2	1 Paper maker	29
ESSEX	7			7
SUSSEX		1		1
HUNTINGDON SHIRE	5			5
NORFOLK	7	3		10
SUFFOLK	7			7
TOTALS	83	12	3	98

(Unfortunately, the numerical return from the Principal Superintendent's Office in Van Diemen's Land for the *Proteus* has not survived and a similar comparison cannot be made for the vessel.)

### County of Origin

As recounted above, those counties where the Special Commissions sat were over-represented in the number of transportees they contributed to the *Proteus* and the *Eliza* (and the *Eleanor*), when compared to those from counties where the traditional justice system of local magistrates dealt more leniently with the rioters. In addition, those counties where the first Special Commission sat (primarily Wiltshire and Hampshire) were more heavily represented than those counties where the second Commission sat. Accordingly, for example, the south eastern counties were only lightly represented in the assignment lists.

Although the samples from each county are quite small, there are some significant variations. At one extreme was the county of Huntingdonshire, where all the transportees were labourers. Rudé<sup>283</sup> states that all the men from Norfolk were

<sup>283</sup> Rudé, Captain Swing and VDL, p.11.

labourers as well but close research shows that, of the ten, two were blacksmiths (James Gunton and Rice Gathercole) and one, Robert Lincoln, was a shoemaker and all three tradesmen ultimately worked in these trades when they reached Van Diemen's Land. All but one of the Gloucestersmen were labourers, as were all seven from Essex. At the other extreme, approximately one in four of the Wiltshiremen and Hampshiremen were mechanics. This suggests that either mechanics took a greater part in the riots in those counties or it reflects the sterner approach taken by the first Special Commission to the involvement of village artisans and tradesmen in riots in those counties.

### Age and Marital Status

The machine breakers were, on average, three years older than ordinary convicts and twice as likely to be married.

Rudé wrote that the average age of the *Proteus* and *Eliza* men was 29 years, compared with a mean of 25.9 for all male English convicts transported to Van Diemen's Land and New South Wales over the entire period of Transportation.<sup>284</sup> In addition, 179 of the 322 *Proteus* and *Eliza* men (55.6 per cent) were married (eleven of whom were widowers - often with children), as compared to the average of 25.6 per cent for all convicts.<sup>285</sup> As Table 1 suggests, the responsibilities of marriage and children may have driven many to commit rural crimes, and further statistical research in England may even demonstrate that agricultural labourers with families to support were over-represented in the riots as well.

### Financial Circumstances

There is little direct evidence as to the financial position of the machine breakers. Many of the petitions for clemency received by Melbourne stated that the subjects of those petitions had been receiving parish relief at the time of the riots, or had until fairly recently. Rudé notes that six of the fifty three wives of *Proteus* men were left on the parish when their husbands were transported and, even more dramatically, forty six of the 115 wives of *Eliza* men were left on the parish.<sup>286</sup>

Surprisingly, only four of the fifty Wiltshire wives were left on the parish, whereas it would be expected that the great economic distress in that county would have presaged a higher figure. Less surprising is the fact that only two of the twenty Buckinghamshire wives were left on the parish; Rudé points out that the majority of these women were employed in the lace and other clothing related industries, and so had more opportunities to avoid going on the parish. All thirteen wives of the married Gloucestershire men were left on the parish, which suggests that conditions in that county were more desperate than historians, who usually concentrate on the distress in Wiltshire and Hampshire, have realized.

<sup>284</sup> Ibid. Rudé acknowledges that this information was provided by Dr L. Robson.

<sup>285</sup> Ibid, relying on Robson, again.

<sup>286</sup> Ibid.

One revealing indicator of the financial situation of the machine breakers is to look at the returns of money and valuables received from convicts when they boarded the transports. Even though it can be assumed that the married men would feel obliged to not take all their savings with them, but leave some behind for their families, the returns should provide some indications as to their financial situation.

The general picture which arises from those records<sup>287</sup> is that a small number of the individuals were far from distressed, but that the majority - including most of the mechanics - were poor.

John Boyes, the Hampshire farmer, arrived with almost forty two pounds and Thomas Goddard, the Primitive Methodist tanner who led the riots in Ramsbury, had twenty pounds. A newspaper published in Wiltshire around the time of his sentencing carried a story that Goddard had some nine thousand pounds in the bank<sup>288</sup>, but that figure is plainly extravagant. The machine breaker with the third highest amount of money is something of a surprise- the Hampshire farm labourer John Kingshott, who had ten pounds and ten shillings. This is a large amount for a labourer to amass, particularly when he had a wife and five children to support. The answer may lie in the fact that Kingshott's brother was a relatively well-to-do store owner, who may have given him the money.

Coming after those three individuals were a group of seven men who brought out between four and eight pounds each. They were William Dove (ploughman-five pounds), Thomas Goodman (farm labourer/hurdle maker- four pounds), Robert Keeble (farm labourer- eight pounds), Moses Turner (ploughman- six pounds), John Beale (carpenter-four pounds six shillings and sixpence), Thomas Aberly (stonemason-four pounds nine and sixpence), and John Olden (farm labourer-four pounds three and sixpence).

Another thirty four brought out between one pound and less than four pounds, but the rest brought out very little; Thomas Weaving and Thomas Strood (both ploughmen) brought out fourpence each and William Hillier (another ploughman) brought out only threepence. Another two hundred are recorded as not depositing any money or valuables before their transports left England.<sup>289</sup>

The figures support the view that most of the machine breakers on the *Proteus* and the *Eliza* were economically distressed at the time they took part in the riots. The most unexpected result from this exercise, however, is the realisation that mechanics were only marginally more likely to bring a significant amount of money out with them than their labourer counterparts. Of those forty four men who brought out a pound or more, seventeen were tradesmen (or a farmer) and twenty seven were labourers. Although it would be expected that the tradesmen would be more likely than the labourers to bring out some money, the figures mean that another forty four of the sixty one artisan/mechanics on the two ships brought out less than a pound each or brought out nothing. This is a high percentage, considering that they were the "elite"

<sup>287</sup> Return of Cash and Valuables for *Eliza* and *Proteus*, CO 280/36, pp.106-116.

<sup>288</sup> *The Journal*, referred to in Croucher, *The Village in the Valley*, p.147.

<sup>289</sup> CO 280/36.

of village life and were punished more severely than their labourer counterparts because their station in life was not meant to have been as threatened by the introduction of machinery. Perhaps further research will show that many of the tradesmen and artisans who joined the riots were not as well off as the courts and the newspapers assumed, and that they also were driven by distress to take part in the machine breaking episodes, although the machines threatened their livelihoods only indirectly. It is interesting to note, for example, that at least two mechanics left their wives on the parish when they were transported; the Kent bricklayer John Tickner and the Hampshire blacksmith John Tongs.

It helps, nevertheless, to put in perspective the "sour comment" of Justice Parke on the first Special Commission, who referred to the frequent participation in the riots of men "whose wages were such as to place them far above want".<sup>290</sup> The fact that very few appear to have turned to poaching in their distress (see, for example, the results in Table 1 on page 23, where only two Wiltshire tradesmen had been convicted of poaching) probably tells us more about the nature of poaching as a traditional recourse of the rural worker than it does about the relative wealth of village tradesmen.

### Prior Convictions

Rudé<sup>291</sup> states that ninety four of the machine breakers sent to Van Diemen's Land had served prison sentences for offences committed in England, although the terms were generally short and related to typically rural offences like poaching, trespass, stealing turnip greens and other kinds of food, as well as firewood. That figure seems high and he does not give the source of his information. It is more likely that the figure of ninety four relates to the number who were convicted of such offences, which did not in most cases lead to sentences of imprisonment. Further on in the same article, some comments by Rudé suggest that this is what he meant.<sup>292</sup>

Even so, the figure of one in three transportees with a court record is much less than the average for convicts at the time; Rudé compared it with Robson's findings that up to 61 per cent of all transportees had been convicted of one or more previous offences in England before the offences leading to their ultimate transportation.

There is one significant difference between the composition of the lists for the *Proteus* and the *Eliza*. The list of the *Eliza* was dominated by machine breakers who had been sentenced to transportation for seven years - men whose role in the riots had, arguably, been regarded as less serious by the justices. The *Proteus*, on the other hand, carried a proportionately higher percentage of those who had been sentenced to transportation

<sup>290</sup> *Gentleman's Magazine*, Vol C, p. 639, quoted in Rudé, Captain Swing in NSW, p. 471. Justice Sir James Parke was famous for his ability to sway a jury; "He was neither a great advocate nor a particularly skilful cross-examiner, but he had a singular knack of riveting the attention and winning the confidence of juries....His fault was an almost superstitious reverence for the dark technicalities of special pleading". Less than two years after his service on the Special Commission, he was elevated to the Judicial Committee of the Privy Council. *DNB*, vol. xv.

<sup>291</sup> Rudé, Captain Swing and VDL, p.13.

<sup>292</sup> *Ibid*, p.13, where he compares Robson's research, which showed that 61 per cent of convicts had been convicted of previous offences (which did not necessarily involve a sentence of imprisonment), with his own research on the machine breakers. Also, later, in the same article, he only refers to them as previous offenders, not as previously imprisoned convicts.



for fourteen years or life. This transpired because many of these men had in fact originally been sentenced to be hung or transported for life, and were the primary subjects of the flood of petitions for mercy dealt with by Melbourne. The carrying out of their sentences were held over until Melbourne had deliberated on their fate. By the time many of their sentences had been affirmed or reduced, the *Eliza* was full. The net result was that the *Proteus* carried men whose sentences generally reflected more serious crimes of machine breaking. If it is accepted for one moment that the seriousness of their offences reflected the general character of the individual rioters, then it may help explain why, as will be noted later, the subsequent average conviction rate for machine breakers in the colony of Van Diemen's Land was 2.15 convictions for each *Proteus* man and only 1.3 convictions for each *Eliza* man. There may, of course, be other reasons for the variation in the figures; a proportionately higher percentage of the *Proteus* men, for example, endured a year and a half longer on assignment as convicts than their counterparts from the *Eliza* and so had that much longer to be caught for misbehaviour under the colonial regulations.

### **Relationships to Fellow Transportees.**

The facts that the machine breaking riots were village-based and involved groups of rioters (often numbering in the hundreds) meant that those who were transported came from a relatively small number of villages, and that many of the participants were related. The records indicate that among the machine breakers on the *Proteus* and the *Eliza* were many pairs of brothers, as well as fathers and sons and uncles and nephews.

Less easy to track down are the machine breakers related by marriage, but there are examples of such men. The Hampshire ploughman David Champ, for example, was the brother-in-law of Joseph Mason, who was sent to New South Wales on the *Eleanor*. And John East, a Buckinghamshire letter founder/labourer, was married to Charlotte Blizzard, a relative of Thomas Blizzard, one of the leaders of the riots in Buckinghamshire.

Several pairs of relatives were temporarily separated by being sent out on different vessels; the Wiltshire brothers James and Robert Baker, for example, were split up, with James being transported on the *Proteus* and Robert on the *Eliza*. Some were also separated permanently because the *Eleanor* sailed for New South Wales in between the sailing dates of the *Proteus* and the *Eliza*, taking with it some machine breakers whose brothers, sons or cousins were sent out on the Van Diemen's Land-bound transports.

**TABLE 4**  
**FAMILY LINKS - MACHINE BREAKERS ON THE**  
**PROTEUS AND THE ELIZA**

***A - Confirmed Family Links***

NAMES	COUNTY	VESSEL(S)	RELATIONSHIP
James and Robert Baker	Wiltshire	<i>Proteus and Eliza</i>	Brothers
Robert Blake and William North	Wiltshire	<i>Eliza</i>	Brothers-in-law
Joseph and the two William Briants	Buckinghamshire	<i>Proteus</i>	Father (William), son (Joseph) and cousin (William II).
George and Robert Davey	Essex	<i>Proteus</i>	Brothers
Stephen and William Bushell	Kent	<i>Eliza</i>	Cousins
James and Thomas Everett	Suffolk	<i>Proteus</i>	Son and father
Cromwell Potter and Stephen Ship	Suffolk	<i>Proteus</i>	Uncle and nephew
Edward Looker and Robert Vivash	Wiltshire	<i>Eliza</i>	Cousins
Joshua and Robert Stevens	Gloucestershire	<i>Eliza</i>	Brothers. One of Robert's daughters (Charity) had already been transported to VDL in 1829.
David and Worthy Gee	Wiltshire	<i>Proteus</i>	Brothers
John and Thomas Legg	Wiltshire	<i>Proteus</i>	Brothers. A third brother, William, was on the <i>Eleanor</i> .
John Sims	Hampshire	<i>Proteus</i>	Sims' father and two brothers were on the <i>Eleanor</i> .
Joseph and Mathias Alexander	Wiltshire	<i>Eliza</i>	Brothers. Their younger brother, John, was also transported to VDL in 1832 for stealing ducks.
Joseph and William Arney	Hampshire	<i>Eleanor and Eliza</i>	Brothers.
Arthur and George Binstead	Sussex	<i>Eliza</i>	Father and son. A second son, John, was transported to NSW for sheep stealing in 1832.
James, John and Thomas Grant.	Essex	<i>Eliza</i>	Brothers.
George and John Hopgood	Hampshire	<i>Eleanor and Eliza</i>	Brothers.
John and Stephen Moon	Wiltshire	<i>Eliza</i>	Step-brothers.
Thomas and William Wadley	Oxfordshire	<i>Eliza</i>	Brothers.
John and Richard Keens	Hampshire	<i>Lotus and Proteus</i>	Brothers

***B - Probable Family Links***

NAMES	COUNTY	VESSEL(S)	RELATIONSHIP
David and James Barton	Buckinghamshire	<i>Proteus</i>	Cousins.
Joseph and William Butler	Buckinghamshire	<i>Proteus</i>	Cousins.

Robert and Shadrach Blake.	Wiltshire	<i>Eliza and Eleanor</i>	Brothers.
Stephen and William Bushell	Kent	<i>Eliza</i>	Brothers or cousins.
Arthur and William Hillier	Wiltshire	<i>Eliza</i>	Brothers or cousins.
Daniel, Samuel and William North	Wiltshire	<i>Eliza</i>	Cousins. Rudé (Captain Swing in VDL, p.20) assumes they were brothers, although they came from three different native villages.
John and Joseph Pinchin	Wiltshire	<i>Eliza</i>	Uncle and nephew.
William and James Whitcher	Hampshire	<i>Eliza and York</i>	Brothers or cousins.

The family links between machine breakers on the two Van Diemen's Land bound vessels were probably more frequent than among the men of the *Eleanor* which sailed for New South Wales. The indent of the latter ship identifies only four sets of brothers, a father and son and one pair of cousins.<sup>293</sup>

#### **"A Different Kettle of Fish"<sup>294</sup>**

The average machine breaker was older and steadier, had skills that were of value in the colony to which he was headed, and he was less likely to have a criminal background than the typical convict. To some extent, all but the last of these are characteristics that were more likely to be exhibited by transportees from rural counties anyway. Robson did not carry out a detailed study of rural criminals for the purposes of his book, but he did some crude analysis of convicts from five rural counties, which included Wiltshire, for comparative purposes. His broad conclusions were:

The men from these non-industrialised counties included relatively few under twenty years of age, and a relatively large number of married convicts...approximately one third had certainly been in trouble previously, and probably more...There were very many farm labourers.<sup>295</sup>

Too much should not be read into these similarities though; the overwhelming majority of the rural convicts that he studied were guilty of ordinary crimes of theft or violence (very few convicts were transported for poaching, he found) and almost a third committed their crimes outside their home county- invariably in a large city. The machine breakers were almost universally men who took part in disturbances that occurred in close proximity to their home villages which in the vast majority of cases

<sup>293</sup> D. Kent and N. Townsend, *The Men of the Eleanor, 1831: A case study of the Hulks and Voyage to New South Wales*, *The Great Circle (Journal of the Australian Association For Maritime History)* Vol 17, No. 2, 1995, p.109.

<sup>294</sup> This was a description used for the machine breakers by A.G.L. Shaw, *Convicts and the Colonies*, London, 1966, p.229.

<sup>295</sup> L. Robson, *The Convict Settlers of Australia*, MUP, 1965 (1994 edition), p.19.

were the villages they were born in. The Dorsetshire labourer Thomas Foot, found guilty of rioting in neighbouring Wiltshire, is a very rare exception.

The men on the *Proteus* and the *Eliza* had a homogeneity that was unusual for a convict transport. This, combined with their superior characteristics, made them an uncommon group of convicts. Even their physical size was cause for comment.

Scattered among the letters of commendation and petitions for mercy lodged with the Home Office in respect of many of the rioters were references to their impressive physical attributes. James Martin, a Hampshire ploughman transported on the *Proteus*, for example, was described in a letter from the Reverend Harvey Ashworth as "a man of great bodily strength."<sup>296</sup> Equally, in his surgeon's report of the voyage of the *Proteus*, Dr Logan makes it clear they were sturdy stock. He described the 35 year old Huntingdonshire ploughman William Hughes as "a tall, broad-shouldered heavy country man... always gifted, according to his account, with perfect health."<sup>297</sup> And Thomas Gregory, the 33 year old Hampshireman was described as "a short but well made man. He was a carpenter by trade and had always been employed in the country. He had never been subject to chest disorders before."<sup>298</sup> Even a truly ill machine breaker like John Simon Clark was described as "of a slender but not delicate frame of body. Previously to joining the Rioters he had always dwelt in the country. He had been brought up to farm labour.. and previously had excellent health."<sup>299</sup> A Port Phillip settler a few years later described the Hampshireman John Hopgood as Big Jack, "... a big burly Englishman sent out to Tasmania as a convict about the year 1831 for machine breaking."<sup>300</sup> Finally, John Capper, the superintendent of convicts at London Docks is reported, after having inspected the *Eliza* before she sailed, to have claimed "he never saw a finer set of men".<sup>301</sup>

These descriptions certainly provide ample evidence to justify Rudé's reservations about accepting Wakefield's view that the transported rioters fell into two categories- the sturdy labourer and the downtrodden pauper "with calfless legs and sloping shoulders, weak in mind and body, pusillanious (*sic*) and stupid".<sup>302</sup> The latter type appears to have been singularly absent from the cargo of the *Proteus* and the *Eliza* - if he ever existed in the first place.

It is doubtful whether the machine breakers shared superintendent Capper's view of their station in life. Peter Withers, a Wiltshire shoemaker sent out on the *Proteus*, wrote a letter to his wife shortly before his transport sailed. It reveals despair more than anything else; in particular there is a real regret that he may not see his wife for many years. Like many others, Withers assumed he was headed for New South Wales. He also acknowledged that the fourteen ordinary criminals to be sent out on the *Proteus* with him and his fellow rioters were "good Cariters":

<sup>296</sup> PRO HO17/54Pt 1, referred to in Chambers, *Hampshire Machine Breakers*, p. 263.

<sup>297</sup> ADM 101/62, Reel 3208.

<sup>298</sup> *Ibid.*

<sup>299</sup> *Ibid.*

<sup>300</sup> P.L. Brown (ed), *The Narrative of George Russell of Golf Hill*, OUP, 1935, p.118.

<sup>301</sup> Rudé and Hobsbawm, p.248. See also Rudé, *Captain Swing and VDL*, p.13.

<sup>302</sup> Rudé, *Captain Swing and VDL*, p.9.

## Swing Rioters Bound For Van Diemen's Land who did not sail on the *Proteus* or the *Eliza*

There were a small number of Swing rioters transported to Van Diemen's Land on other vessels who are worthy of mention. The very fact that they were not on the *Proteus* or the *Eliza* was, in most cases, indicative that there was something different about the individuals or their cases.

Rudé wrote that, following the arrival of the *Proteus*, three "laggarts" came to Van Diemen's Land on the *Gilmore* in March 1832, and a further two on the *Lotus* in May 1833<sup>306</sup> (including John Keens, the younger brother of Richard Keens, who was transported on the *Proteus*). There are in fact a small scattering of rioters who arrived on other boats as well that were missed by him. One arrived on the *Lord William Bentinck* in 1832, one on the *Mary* in October 1831 and - depending upon how wide a definition of "Swing rioter" one adopts - one on the *Catherine Stewart Forbes* in July 1832, two or perhaps three on the *York* in December 1832 and one on the *Frances Charlotte* in January 1833.

One of the rioters brought out on the *Gilmore* was Thomas Golder, a Kent ploughman. Golder had been sentenced to seven years transportation for his complicity in the machine breaking episode near Birchington led by Thomas Hepburn. The evidence against Golder had not been as strong as it was in respect of the others, and he was first detained in Dover Gaol for a lengthy period and then sent to a hulk at Woolwich. Eventually convicted and transported to Van Diemen's Land on the *Gilmore*, Golder received a free pardon on 4 December 1837 and in 1839 sailed from Launceston to South Australia. Later, he was successful at the Victorian goldfields and returned to Kargarilla, South Australia, where he took up a substantial land grant and became a prosperous settler, dying in 1880.<sup>307</sup>

The *Catherine Stewart Forbes* carried Richard Dillingham, a 20 year old farm labourer from Bedfordshire. Dillingham had been convicted in June 1831 of housebreaking, an offence he carried out with another young labourer on the way home from a county fair. He was drunk at the time and was quickly apprehended. Although the crime was not committed during the riots, one historian has identified him as a Swing rioter.<sup>308</sup> Another has, perhaps more objectively, identified him as a product of the same rural background which led so many similarly placed young men to take part in the riots, and the severity of his sentence (execution, commuted to transportation for life) as reflecting the desire of the local magistrates to suppress conduct that was seen as a dangerous echo of the rural unrest that had afflicted the county only a few months earlier.<sup>309</sup> Dillingham spent most of his convict career as a well-behaved assigned servant working on a market garden in Sandy Bay owned by David Lamb(e), a former Colonial Architect under Arthur's administration. He

<sup>306</sup> Rudé, Captain Swing in VDL, p.10. Subsequently, he appears to have expanded the list - see *Protest and Punishment*, p. 210.

<sup>307</sup> G. Golder, Thomas Golder; A Kent Machine Breaker, *Machine Breakers' News*, Vol.1, No.1, June 1994.

<sup>308</sup> R. Hughes, *The Fatal Shore*, London 1987, p.200.

<sup>309</sup> A.G.L. Shaw, *Convicts and the Colonies*, 1966, p.8.

My Dear Wife belive me My hart is almost broken to think i must and lave you behind o my dear What shall i do i am all Most destracted for the thoughts of parting from you whom i do Love so dear belive me My dear it Cuts me even to the hart and My deare Wife there is a ship Com into Portsmouth harbor to take us to the New southweals and we shall go on board apral the 6....if i gets my freedom evenso i am shure i shall Never be hapy except i Can have the Plesur of ending my days With you and My dear Childre(n)....when i gets over My Dear Wife our Captain Will sent a good Cariter over With us for he have pickt out all the best Cariters of felens to sent with us.<sup>303</sup>

There is in fact some independent evidence to support the suggestion that the fourteen ordinary convicts on the *Proteus* cargo were hand-picked from amongst those already awaiting transportation for earlier crimes in order to maintain the generally high quality of the cargo.

In his surgeon's report, Dr Thomas Logan recorded the case of William Beaumont (*alias* Breemer), a nineteen year old felon. (It is significant that Logan distinguished in his lengthy surgeon's report between the two groups of convicts by referring to each patient as either a "felon" or a "rioter".) Beaumont had been sentenced to transportation in September 1829 at the Middlesex Gaol Delivery for stealing a waistcoat and a pair of shoes. His conduct on the hulk during the following eighteen months had been without a single blemish; he had changed his apparently earlier bad ways in the hope that his good behaviour might lead to him serving his entire sentence on the hulk. Four days out on the *Proteus*, his health deteriorated rapidly. After referring to his prior excellent conduct, Logan noted in his report:

He counted upon being allowed to serve out his period of bondage in the Hulks at home.....Full of good resolves and pleasing hopes he found himself, all at once, disappointed and dismayed by being set on board the *Proteus* for transportation. In his agony and confusion his late conduct might have appeared to him to have been distrusted and disapproved!...The power of mental suffering in destroying health and inducing disease is a truth so familiar, that it is susceptible of proof, more or less, from almost everyone's experience.<sup>304</sup>

It would appear that, instead of his record of good conduct increasing his chances of staying in England, Beaumont in fact had ensured that he was selected to join the machine breakers in the *Proteus*. His "febritis and nostalgia" took many weeks to subside. The subsequent convict career in Van Diemen's Land of this unfortunate man was very much at odds with his exemplary conduct on the hulk. Following a string of convictions for idleness and refusing to work, Beaumont absconded (twice) and was eventually sent to Port Arthur. His behaviour deteriorated further at the penal station and he gathered even more convictions, petty and otherwise. His original sentence of seven years transportation was extended twice and he was still a convict at the end of 1845, when his last offence was recorded.<sup>305</sup>

<sup>303</sup> Peter Withers to Mary Withers, 5 April 1831, AOT.

<sup>304</sup> ADM 101/62, Reel 3208.

<sup>305</sup> CON 31/4.

received a ticket of leave in 1840 and a conditional pardon in 1843, when he promptly disappeared from official records.

Dillingham's convict career was noteworthy for a number of reasons. The first is the vessel on which he was transported. The *Catherine Stewart Forbes* has a special place in convict history. She suffered the worst cholera outbreak of any convict transport vessel, losing thirteen men before she finally dropped anchor in the Derwent River<sup>310</sup> and, before the outbreak, there had also been an attempted mutiny by the convicts.<sup>311</sup> The ringleader was Charles Williams, who was a Bristol rioter. The vessel carried seventeen of the twenty six protesters known as the Bristol rioters sent to Van Diemen's Land after the autumn riots of 1831, which were related to the agitation over the Great Reform Bill of 1832. The *Catherine Stewart Forbes*, therefore, carried the products of two different episodes of social unrest.<sup>312</sup> The second is that a small parcel of letters written by Dillingham to his family in Bedfordshire have survived.<sup>313</sup> They provide some insight into the mind and attitudes of a young convict who, although not an immediate participant in the Swing riots, was a product of the same environment.

The *York* carried John Dore (a member of the Dever Valley Rioters, led by the Mason brothers) and James Whitcher, both of Hampshire. It was not until February 1832 that Dore had been found guilty of arson during the riots and sentenced to hang, along with two other Hampshiremen involved in the same rick burning episodes. Ultimately reprieved, he was transported to Van Diemen's Land for life.<sup>314</sup>

James Whitcher was almost definitely the brother, or at least a cousin, of William Whitcher, who had been transported on the *Eliza*. He had been found guilty of arson, burning nine stacks of hay and crops as well as three barns, a stable and a cart shed. Clearly he would have been hung if he had committed these crimes during the peak of the riots, but his charges related to crimes committed almost a year later, when sentences of execution for these kinds of Swing outrage were less common.<sup>315</sup>

The third rioter on the *York* has a special place in Tasmanian history, so is worthy of particular mention. Thomas Burbury was the son of Captain William Burbury, a member of the Duke of Wellington's staff at Waterloo. In March 1832, when he was described as a cattle dealer and cattle doctor, Burbury was sentenced to death at the Warwick Assizes for his part the previous November in burning down a steam factory

<sup>310</sup> C. Bateson, *The Convict Ships 1787 - 1868*, Sydney 1974, p.274.

<sup>311</sup> G. Rudé, *Protest and Punishment*, p.164.

<sup>312</sup> Whereas the machine breakers sent to Van Diemen's Land proved to be excellent convicts, the mostly young, unmarried urban Bristol rioters were to achieve a remarkable record of colonial offences, with an average of almost ten offences per convict (twice the average for all urban convicts). Rudé concludes that most of the Bristol rioters were not in fact village Hampdens, but were more closely aligned with the ne'er do wells who made up the majority of transported convicts; G Rudé, *Protest and Punishment*, pp 243 - 247.

<sup>313</sup> H Forster (ed), *The Dillingham Convict Letters*, Victorian Historical Association, Melbourne 1970.

<sup>314</sup> After receiving a conditional pardon in 1844, Dore sailed for Port Phillip.

<sup>315</sup> Whitcher had a turbulent convict career in the colony, and frequently appeared before the magistrates on numerous charges of insolence, disobedience, neglect of work and absconding. He spent much of his time on the chain gang and at Port Arthur. In 1846, he finally worked out the term of his sentence and received a conditional pardon. CON 31/46. He then disappeared from history.

at Coventry, where the weavers had been threatened with unemployment as a result of the installation of new machinery. It was only after the intercession of Edward Ellice, MP for Coventry, that the sentence was commuted to transportation for life.<sup>316</sup> Why Burbury, the relatively well-to-do son of a former army officer, took part in the riot is unknown. But it is arguable that he should be regarded as a machine breaker, even though his offence took place some time after the first swell of unrest.<sup>317</sup> As has already been noted, many of the rioters transported on the *Proteus* and the *Eliza* were involved in activities that had nothing to do with agricultural crimes like the burning of hay ricks or the breaking of threshing machines. The destruction of poor houses and paper making factories were equally prominent in their activities, and there were disturbances at collieries, foundries and even needle factories in other parts of the southern counties at the same time.

Two women were transported to Van Diemen's Land for their parts in the riots. The first was Elizabeth Studham of Birchington, who was convicted of setting fire to a workhouse in East Kent. She was transported on the *Mary*, which arrived in the Derwent River on 19 October 1831.

The second, whose claim to be transported as a machine breaker is somewhat less clear-cut, was Elizabeth Parker from Tetbury in Gloucestershire. She was convicted of machine breaking but, presumably because of her gender, was only sentenced to a short period of imprisonment rather than transportation. Compared to the sentences handed out to other machine breakers, Parker's role in the riots would certainly have justified transportation; she was mentioned by many witnesses as having played a leading part in the destruction of machinery in the village of Beverstone- wielding a sledge hammer and urging on the menfolk in their destruction.<sup>318</sup> Four months into her prison sentence, Parker was tried and convicted on a charge of larceny relating to an earlier, unrelated incident. This conviction forced the Court to transport her for life. Some writers believe the proximity of the offences and sentences justifies describing her as being transported for the machine breaking episode.<sup>319</sup> She was transported on the *Frances Charlotte*, which arrived in the Derwent on 10 January, 1833. The *Frances Charlotte* also has a special place in convict history because an outbreak of cholera swept through the vessel before it even sailed. Four of the female convicts died, as well as two children and two crew members. Fortunately, the spread of the disease had been arrested before the vessel sailed and no more fatalities occurred on the voyage itself.<sup>320</sup>

Both women had bad reputations; on the journey out to Van Diemen's Land, Studham was reported as being of loose habits and Parker had, on her own admission, been "on the town" for two and a half years before committing her offences.<sup>321</sup> It is most likely that Studham and Parker were swept up in the riots and saw them as a means, perhaps, of "hitting back" at their personal conditions and those who created them rather than

<sup>316</sup> ADB, Vol 1.

<sup>317</sup> Rudé, for example, sees him in this light - see *Protest and Punishment*, p. 210.

<sup>318</sup> C F Wicken, *Reluctant Travellers; The 1831 Transportees*, Tewkesbury Historical Society Bulletin No.8, 1999, Gloucestershire, p.38.

<sup>319</sup> See, eg, Rudé, *Captain Swing*, p.247 and CF Wicken, *Reluctant Travellers*, p.38.

<sup>320</sup> C Bateson, *The Convict Ships 1787 - 1868*, Sydney 1974, p. 274.

<sup>321</sup> Hobsbawm and Rudé, *Captain Swing*, p.248.



having any social commitment to the outcome of their actions or concern about their families - which it appears they did not have. To paraphrase Rudé, their "past records seem to accord ill with social protest".<sup>322</sup>

## The Voyages Out

The first convict transport to leave England with a cargo of machine breakers was the *Eliza*, which slipped its moorings on 6 February 1831 and sailed for Van Diemen's Land. Its entire convict cargo of 224 was comprised of rioters. The captain for the voyage was John Groves and the guard was provided by a Captain Moore, one subaltern and thirty nine members of the Royal Marines, en route for Singapore. The second transport was the *Eleanor*, which left for New South Wales on 19 February 1831. The *Proteus* sailed for Van Diemen's Land on 14 April 1831, with ninety eight machine breakers and fourteen ordinary convicts, the latter who would appear to have been 'of the better sort'.<sup>323</sup>

Apart from the possibility of some official intervention in respect of the fourteen supplementary convicts drafted on board the *Proteus*, there is no clear evidence firmly indicating any particular government strategy at work behind the composition of the assignment lists for the three principal convict transport vessels. The basic rule seems to have been to load them onto the first available transport in all cases. The composition of the *Eliza* cargo merely reflects the fact that she was the first to weigh anchor and most of the men on board were the product of the earliest sittings of the Special Commissions or from the counties where the disturbances first began. The actual breakdown by counties is Wiltshire (101), Hampshire (33), Kent (21), Oxford (9), Berkshire (4), Essex (16), Gloucester (24), and Sussex (16). As noted supra, the fact that many machine breakers were tried and sentenced in batches, reflecting the chronological sequence of the disturbances, meant there was a significant likelihood that men from the same village would be sent out on the same ship. Although there is no evidence of a deliberate policy of keeping men from the same villages together on the ships it is interesting to note that, when it was realized the *Eleanor* had an overload of seven prisoners only six days before she sailed, the convicts offloaded were all from the town of Chelmsford in Essex. Six of them - Samuel Draper, Robert Davey, William Acres, William Bloomfield, Stephen Eade and James Cross - were eventually embarked on the *Proteus*<sup>324</sup> and so ended up in Van Diemen's Land rather than New South Wales. It is, of course, quite possible that the seven men were chosen simply on the basis of the "last on-first off" principle and if they came on board together, then it is to be expected they would leave the same way.

In addition, there appears to have been no official attempt made to split up the known radicals among the machine breakers. Joseph and Robert Mason were not sent to different colonies, which might have been expected in the case of such known political agitators, nor were the Mann brothers from Andover, a pair of more active,

<sup>322</sup> Rudé, *Protest and Punishment*, p.5.

<sup>323</sup> Peter Withers to Mary Withers, 5 April 1831, AOT

<sup>324</sup> PRO HO9/9, p.45. In addition to the Chelmsford men, three soldiers with advanced stages of gonorrhoea were rejected by the surgeon superintendent John Stevenson as unfit for the voyage. See Kent and Townsend, *The Men of the Eleanor 1831*, p. 115.

but less famous radicals who had previously been small land holders.<sup>325</sup> Both pairs of brothers sailed together on the *Eleanor* for New South Wales.

It is equally doubtful whether there was a conscious policy at work of diverting the known radical leaders to New South Wales, in the same way that troublesome Irish convicts had reputedly been steered away from Van Diemen's Land until 1840.<sup>326</sup> There had in fact been a steady trickle of radical convicts or social protesters to the colony since its origins, including people like Richard Dry (1807), the Luddites (1812), the Yorkshire Weavers (1820) and in the first years after the arrival of the machine breakers there would be the Bristol rioters (1832) and George Loveless, the leader of the Tolpuddle Martyrs (1834). It is also worth noting that at least four reputed radical figures in the disturbances (Thomas Goddard, Thomas Blizzard, David Champ and John Boyes) were sent to Van Diemen's Land, rather than being diverted to New South Wales to join the known radical Mason and Mann brothers.

A simple example of the ambiguity of the evidence about the treatment of radicals can be seen in the fate of the Berkshiresmen. Although most of the rioters from Berkshire were transported to New South Wales on the *Eleanor*, four of them sailed on the *Eliza*. Three of these men – Francis Norris, Edmund Steele, and Daniel Bates – were from the village of Kintbury and were members of the delegation which represented the Kintbury men at a meeting with the local magistrates at Hungerford Town Hall to discuss their wages in late 1830. It could be argued that, by taking part in the Kintbury delegation, these men had been earmarked as minor radicals, and so were deliberately being sent to Van Diemen's Land. Equally, however, as mentioned above, many known and minor radicals were being sent to New South Wales and – perhaps even more telling – the fourth Berkshireman was David Hawkins, an impoverished labourer from the village of Hungerford who had absolutely no link with the other men, nor had even the slightest taint of radicalism in his background.<sup>327</sup> There is no obvious deliberate strategy behind his being placed with the Kintbury men and being transported to Van Diemen's Land rather than New South Wales.

As to why Van Diemen's Land ultimately received the lion's share of this valuable cargo- 322 machine breakers compared to New South Wales' 139 - again there does not appear to have been any documented strategy in operation.

Shaw was surprised that Van Diemen's Land received so many of the rioters, "for usually that colony received more serious offenders".<sup>328</sup> He surmised that perhaps the British Government thought them very dangerous in the excitement of the times; "after all, their leaders were politically strong radicals and, socially, either a superior class of artisans or hard-working peasants, whose transportation might deter others like themselves."<sup>329</sup> There is no doubt that transportation of the machine breakers would have been a salutary lesson to other rural radicals in England, but it does not

<sup>325</sup> Rudé, Captain Swing in NSW, p. 479.

<sup>326</sup> Shaw, p. 183. Although how conscious this Irish convict policy was is still the subject of debate. Rudé is equivocal on the evidence in *Protest and Punishment*, and the Governors of N.S.W. did not appear to have had a firm view – *HRA Series I, Vols. XIV* (p. 653) and *XV*, (p. 273).

<sup>327</sup> N. Fox, *Berkshire to Botany Bay*, p. 142.

<sup>328</sup> A.G.L. Shaw, *Convicts and the Colonies*, p. 152.

<sup>329</sup> *Ibid*, p. 153.

explain why the majority were sent to Van Diemen's Land. Perhaps the destination of the vessels was simply consistent with a long standing unwritten policy of the Home Government to favour Van Diemen's Land in the assignment of agricultural labourers and tradesmen because of its recognized disadvantages and needs. Arthur had in fact previously written to Howick's predecessor requesting that more agricultural labourers and mechanics should be sent to Van Diemen's Land in order to assist in its development - "I might undertake to dispose of at least 2000 [such] Convicts in the course of the ensuing year".<sup>330</sup>

There is evidence that Arthur had some influence with the Home Office in respect of the type of convicts sent to Van Diemen's Land. Robson, for example, refers to the statement of T. Potter McQueen on this point:

Probably owing to the influence which Sir George Arthur possessed in Downing Street, a very large proportion of the best inland and agricultural labourers have been forwarded to Hobart Town, while Irish offenders and London pickpockets have constituted the aggregate of the number sent to Sydney.<sup>331</sup>

It may even have been the machine breakers whom McQueen was thinking about when he wrote these lines. Robson noted that Arthur always disavowed any such influence<sup>332</sup> although, as demonstrated above, he made his preference for agricultural labourers known to London at every available opportunity, and this may have been in the minds of Home Office staff when the vessels were given their sailing orders.

Shaw's view that the majority of the rioters were sent to the grimmer colony of Van Diemen's Land because the English government wished to send a strong deterrent message to rural radicals in southern England must be balanced by the fact that the most radical and active leaders during the riots, the Mann and the Mason brothers, were sent to New South Wales. As it was, Van Diemen's Land received only a scattering of the minor local radicals.

Instructions for the *Eliza* to proceed to Spithead to receive a waiting cargo of ordinary felons and their guard had been first issued out of Lord Melbourne's Office on 9 December 1830.<sup>333</sup> By the time the Home Office realized it had a major and unexpected increase in the number of convicts who would require transporting- and a special cargo at that- it was too late to hold up the *America* and replace her cargo, so she sailed to Van Diemen's Land on 30 December.<sup>334</sup> The *Eliza* was the next convict transport under charter and immediately available. Full correspondence is not available, but it is clear that her original instructions to embark an ordinary cargo of convicts were countermanded and she was held over for a number of weeks. From a postscript to a note sent to Arthur by Goderich, it is clear that as early as 24 January 1831, the *Eliza* was expected to sail on 6 February at the latest.<sup>335</sup> Home Office Records reveal that the *Eleanor* was the next vessel to receive instructions (issued on

<sup>330</sup> Arthur to Twiss, 17 August 1830.

<sup>331</sup> T. Potter McQueen, *Australia As She Is, And as She May Be* (1841), referred to by Robson, p.78.

<sup>332</sup> Robson, p.78.

<sup>333</sup> H.O. 13/57, S.M.-Phillips to Sir T. B. Martin, 9 December 1830.

<sup>334</sup> Ibid, 30 December 1830.

<sup>335</sup> Goderich to Arthur, 24 January 1831, Despatch No 7, GO 1/13.

10 January 1831) to proceed to Portsmouth to "embark the whole of her complement ...and proceed to New South Wales".<sup>336</sup> Oddly, the instructions for the *New South Wales* - bound *Eleanor* to remove 140 prisoners from the *York* were actually issued a day earlier than the instructions for the *Eliza* to remove 224 prisoners from the same prison hulk and head to Van Diemen's Land.<sup>337</sup> But on 2 February, when all 224 prisoners were on board the *Eliza*, Lord Melbourne's secretary wrote to the Commissioners of the Navy to advise that "it will not be necessary to detain the vessel any longer on account of this Office"<sup>338</sup> and a copy of the assignment list for the vessel was transmitted to Viscount Howick the same day.

The *Eliza* was a 511 ton East Indiaman making her third voyage to the Australian colonies as a convict transport. She was also a fast ship - in 1820 she had set a new record for the trip from England to Port Jackson of ninety seven days. Little is known about the *Eliza*'s passage to Hobart - the log of Dr W Anderson the surgeon superintendent does not appear to have survived as a historical record. There is nothing to suggest, however, that the experience of the machine breakers on the *Eliza* were different in any great way to those on the *Proteus*, the surgeon's report for which has survived. Of the machine breakers, Surgeon Thomas Logan had written:

The number of Convicts embarked was One Hundred and Twelve. They were a part of those ignorant and misled Englishmen turned Rioters, who had overthrown order, and violated public security. Most of them were men from the Country, farm labourers; a few only were artisans. Generally speaking, they had the sturdy build of labouring men. Their awkwardness and stiffness were such that I became desirous of removing the embarrassment which their Irons but too evidently occasioned - not to speak of the danger of accidents to which they exposed them. They were accordingly all removed before leaving Portsmouth; nor did subsequent experience teach me that this act of consideration and beneficence had exceeded the limits of a just prudence.<sup>339</sup>

Although it is likely the machine breakers on the *Eliza* were just as ungainly in chains as their companions on the *Proteus*, the records suggest they were not immediately accorded the same liberty as those men on the smaller vessel. The list prepared by the Ordinance Office of surplus stores landed off the *Eliza* upon its arrival in Hobart Town included 224 pairs of leg irons. The entry against the item was to the effect that they had been "used during the voyage".<sup>340</sup> It is possible, of course, that the leg irons were struck off early in the voyage, as this was frequently ordered by a humane captain or surgeon-superintendent.<sup>341</sup> Although the official report of the arrival of the *Eliza* in Hobart Town states that the general health of the convicts was good,<sup>342</sup> two of them were to die within a few months of arrival with consumption, apparently arising from a chill contracted on the voyage out.<sup>343</sup>

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<sup>336</sup> Ibid, 10 January 1831.

<sup>337</sup> Ibid, 24 and 25 January 1831.

<sup>338</sup> Ibid, 2 February 1831.

<sup>339</sup> ADM 101/62, Reel 3208, AOT.

<sup>340</sup> CSO 1/524/11376, p.108.

<sup>341</sup> C. Bateson, *The Convict Ships 1787-1868*, Reed Books, Sydney 1974 edition, p. 74.

<sup>342</sup> Ibid, p.84.

<sup>343</sup> Rudé, *Captain Swing* and VDL, p.15.

The *Eliza* dropped anchor in the Derwent River off Hobart Town on 29 May 1831. The brief report of her arrival in the *Colonial Times* the next day referred to the fact that the 224 prisoners were all persons sentenced "during the late outrages in England", and noted without comment the special arrangements made between the Van Diemen's Land Company and the Home Government in respect of fifty of them.<sup>344</sup> The *Hobart Town Courier* reported "the greater proportion .... are said to be able-bodied, hard-working countrymen."<sup>345</sup>

On 4 June 1831, Lieutenant Governor Arthur wrote to Howick acknowledging the arrival of the *Eliza* and advising him how the convicts had been assigned. He further advised Howick that their conduct on the voyage had been "most exemplary" and- somewhat prematurely, considering they had not been out of sight of their gaolers for the five days since their vessel had dropped anchor - that "since their arrival not one of them has been convicted of an offence".<sup>346</sup> This early outburst of enthusiasm for the machine breakers by Arthur was to be maintained until well after their final release, most of them with full pardons, and was one of the more resilient themes of his account of the agricultural convict experience in Van Diemen's Land.

### **The Tasmanian Situation - Agriculture and the Assignment System.**

When the *Proteus* and the *Eliza* disgorged their human cargoes in Hobart Town, the colony was essentially a mixed-farming economy, with a population of approximately 25,000 persons. The mix of farming favoured crops over pasture in the areas around Hobart and Launceston, but was predominantly pastoral in the midlands.<sup>347</sup> Most of the wealth of the colony came from its pastures, and Sharon Morgan has concluded that pastoralism was clearly favoured by the newer settlers:

Whether public or private, agriculture was of secondary importance in the colony. Early settlers saw that there was money to be made by raising sheep and cattle. Furthermore, agricultural production required far greater care and effort than did animal husbandry.....It is not surprising that farmers handicapped by inexperience and ignorance should turn to the easier option.<sup>348</sup>

Hartwell has made similar observations about how the development of pastoralism was not dependent on technical skills of a high order and so was preferred by the settlers at this time.<sup>349</sup>

Driven by a strong international market for wool, sheep were the dominant pastoral commodity; in 1830, there were 682,128 sheep in the colony and by 1832 the export of fine wool to Britain represented the island's major export. At this time and for many years to come, Van Diemen's Land carried a larger flock of sheep and exported

<sup>344</sup> *Colonial Times*, 1 June 1831.

<sup>345</sup> *Hobart Town Courier*, 4 June 1831.

<sup>346</sup> GO 33/7, p. 431, 4 June 1831.

<sup>347</sup> R. M. Hartwell, *The Economic Development of Van Diemen's Land*, MUP, 1954, p.61.

<sup>348</sup> S. Morgan, *Land Settlement in Early Tasmania: Creating an Antipodean England*, CUP, 1992, p88.

<sup>349</sup> Hartwell, p.7.

more wool than New South Wales.<sup>350</sup> By 1836, when the majority of the machine breakers received their freedom, the colony carried 912,000 sheep - a phenomenal number which clearly represented the island's saturation point at that time.<sup>351</sup> It is not surprising that even before 1836, the colony's pastoralists had been looking across the Strait for more extensive sheep runs.

Despite the primacy of pastoralism, agriculture was still important in the colony, and successive governors had encouraged its advance. Arthur, in particular, made it a condition that grantees had to demonstrate that significant improvements had been made to their original properties (including the clearing and cultivation of land) before further grants would be approved.<sup>352</sup> In 1824, the year Arthur arrived on the island, 34,000 acres were under crop and by 1831, when the machine breakers arrived, that acreage had almost doubled.<sup>353</sup> By 1849, following the opening up of the north-west of the colony, it had grown to 166,000 acres.<sup>354</sup> The crops that were planted were primarily destined for New South Wales and the local markets. But, due to a combination of factors, crop yields were consistently lower than those being achieved in England; livestock progress, by comparison, exceeded all expectations.

It was common for settlers to purchase and cultivate a portion of land in the immediate vicinity of their residence and simultaneously rent a sheep run from the Crown.<sup>355</sup> Shaw believes it was this mixture that distinguished the colony and explains why contemporaries believed the colony was essentially agricultural in character, when in fact it clearly was not.<sup>356</sup>

The pastoral nature of much of the rural activity in Van Diemen's Land would not have caused difficulties for the machine breakers, even though most of them were described on their appropriation lists and indents as ploughmen. Many of them in fact already had experience of handling stock. The forty year old William Catchpole of Norfolk, for example, was a ploughman but his indent records that he could also shear sheep and milk a cow. And in the Wiltshire village of Ramsbury, which was primarily known as an agricultural area, many of the transported labourers who were described as ploughmen had in fact worked on farms that carried flocks of sheep. The main change brought about by Enclosure years before had been the disappearance of common pastures around the village, which meant the labourers were no longer able to keep a few sheep of their own, but it had not meant they lost touch with pastoral pursuits.<sup>357</sup> In reality, most of the Wiltshire convicts could have been more correctly described as farm labourers, rather than ploughmen. The fact that many of them could turn their hand to pastoral activities as well as agricultural pursuits would have made them doubly valuable in a colony that was essentially a mixed farming economy, but with a strong leaning towards pastoralism.

<sup>350</sup> In the year 1831, for example, New South Wales exported 1,134,134 pounds of wool to Britain and Van Diemen's Land exported 1,359,203 pounds in the same period. - Morgan, *ibid*, p.65.

<sup>351</sup> *Ibid*.

<sup>352</sup> *HRA Series III, Vol. VII*, p. 735, ns151-2.

<sup>353</sup> W. D. Forsyth, *Governor Arthur's Convict System; Van Diemen's Land 1824 - 1836*, SUP 1970, p.29.

<sup>354</sup> Hartwell, p.62.

<sup>355</sup> A.G.L. Shaw, *Convicts and the Colonies*, p.341.

<sup>356</sup> *Ibid*.

<sup>357</sup> Croucher, p.130.

Ownership of the farms themselves was dominated by the original grantees and retired military and naval officers who had only recently been permitted to sell their commissions for prices determined according to a formula in return for land in the colonies. By the time the Ripon Regulations came into effect in the year the machine breakers landed, most of the good available land had been alienated in the colony. This was the land in the north and the south which abutted the rivers, and through the midlands which abutted the central highway. Although in later years, particularly with the opening up of the north-west, much more land would become available for sale the machine breakers were assigned to masters at a time when unalienated land was rare. A number of ex-machine breakers were later to take advantage of the opportunities offered by the opening up of the north-west.

The tight land situation was exacerbated by Arthur's less than enthusiastic implementation of the official programme for the sale of Crown Land<sup>358</sup> - he "was determined not to allow the sales system to operate as the Wakefieldian Systematic Colonizers intended".<sup>359</sup> Arthur made lavish grants just before the Ripon Regulations came into effect, ensuring that the small reservoir of accessible quality land was quickly depleted. The effect of all these factors, as far as the machine breakers were concerned, was that they were most likely to be assigned to grantees and retired military officers, rather than recently arrived settlers who had bought their properties.

In England, the machine breakers had been a seasonally underemployed class whose winter time work had been threatened by machinery. In Van Diemen's Land, where experienced farm labourers were scarce, they were a valuable commodity. It did not matter that their knowledge was of English farming methods and stock handling; their capacity to endure the rigours of farm life itself was invaluable.

Nor was their employment threatened to any serious extent by the farm machinery used in the colony. Although there is some disagreement as to how common threshing machines were in Van Diemen's Land at this time, with Morgan writing that they had appeared on only a few of the "most progressive farms"<sup>360</sup> and Hartwell being of the view that they were "pretty general" by 1830,<sup>361</sup> farm mechanization was still comparatively rare in Van Diemen's Land. Many farmers had practical reasons for not being keen users of machinery, primarily because there were very few mechanics who could fix them, and spare parts were scarce. It was more sensible to rely on manual labour. Hand threshing was still the norm on the smaller properties.<sup>362</sup>

The Van Diemen's Land Company in particular made little use of machinery of any kind, although the size of their estates would have made them a more logical site for mechanization than the smaller properties. The reasons for this were twofold. The first was that the relative isolation of the Company's estates made machinery repairs

<sup>358</sup> R.M. Hartwell, p.32, where Hartwell states that Arthur deliberately sabotaged the Ripon Regulations.

<sup>359</sup> W.D. Forsyth, *Governor Arthur's Convict System; Van Diemen's Land 1824-1836*, SUP, 1970, p.27.

See also Shaw, p.96.

<sup>360</sup> Morgan, p.79.

<sup>361</sup> Hartwell, p.130.

<sup>362</sup> Hartwell, p.130.

and the securing of replacement parts even more difficult than it would be for other settlers who lived nearer the ports of Launceston or Hobart Town. In a letter to the Court of Directors, Edward Curr, the Company's agent, wrote:

I am inclined to doubt whether a steam engine to work a flour and saw mill will suit us under present circumstances, on account of the liability to lose, without being able to replace, the working engineers. Also a very trifling casting breaking could not be replaced except from Hobart Town or Sydney which would generally occupy three months or more.<sup>363</sup>

The other, more significant reason, was that the Company's corporate philosophy was based on an expectation of a continuing supply of cheap if not free labour from the government of the day,<sup>364</sup> which meant that it did not willingly respond to ordinary economic pressures to mechanize.

As a result of these factors, the Company carried only one machine on all four of its estates shortly before the machine breakers arrived in the colony. Ironically, it was a "huge" threshing machine.<sup>365</sup> Perhaps the Company's reluctance to use machinery in part explains the "extraordinary absence of improvements at the Company's establishment" noted by Assistant Surveyor Wedge in his report in 1828.<sup>366</sup>

## ASSIGNMENT OF THE MACHINE BREAKER CONVICTS

The machine breakers from the *Eliza* and, later, the *Proteus* were essentially assigned in three streams; to the Van Diemen's Land Company, to individual free settlers, or to the Public Works Department. The manner in which the process was undertaken provides valuable insights into the state of affairs in the colony at the time.

### Assignment of Machine Breaker Convicts to the VDL Company.

The Van Diemen's Land Company, more than any other enterprise in the colony at the time, relied upon continued preferential treatment from the Colonial Office in England and the colonial authorities in the island, and duly expected it.<sup>367</sup> Its continued operation depended upon this preference because it was, in essence, an anachronism from the day it was established and it could not compete fairly in the 19<sup>th</sup> century climate of individual capitalism which was already established in the colony despite its prison-like reputation.<sup>368</sup> The need to secure cheap (if not free) skilled labour for its estates was exacerbated by the facts that its four major properties were isolated from the rest of the colony's major settlements (a deliberate policy on the part of the Home Office) and that the land granted to them was poor:

<sup>363</sup> AOT, VDL 6, Despatch No 247, 22 March 1833.

<sup>364</sup> J Duxbury, *Colonial Servitude; Indentured and Assigned Servants of the VDL Company 1825-1841*, Monash Publications in History No 4, 1989, p.5.

<sup>365</sup> G Frankland to Colonial Secretary Burnett, 20 November 1828, *HRA Series III, Vol VII*, p.382.

<sup>366</sup> Assistant Surveyor Wedge to Surveyor G Frankland, 2 July 1828, *HRA Series III, Vol VII*, p.391.

<sup>367</sup> J. Duxbury, *Colonial Servitude; Indentured and Assigned Servants of the VDL Company 1825-1841*, Monash Publications in History No 4, 1989, p.5.

<sup>368</sup> *Ibid*, p.1.



....it was totally unsuitable as pasturage for fine woolled sheep; many areas were densely forested and subject to torrential rainfall, others were barren and swampy and lashed by arctic gales, all of which caused severe stock losses to the early pioneers. Repeated attempts were made by the directors and their chief agent Mr Edward Curr to negotiate with the Colonial Office for better land, but the error of geographical situation was irredeemable.<sup>369</sup>

The Directors of the Company therefore believed they had pulled off a major coup when they secured Home Office agreement to the assignment of such a large number of skilled or experienced convict workers to their estates - at the cost of paying the passage out of a relative handful of assisted emigrants. Although the arrangement was the result of an opportunistic foray by the Directors of the Company- which was never repeated - its historical significance should not be underestimated.

The arrangement between the Company and the Home Office can be seen as one attempt to make the Transportation System more responsive to the needs of the settlers. Although there were earlier isolated instances of convicts being hand picked for their skills to assist in the colonization process<sup>370</sup> and there is recent evidence to suggest that convicts in general were a more skilled and valued group than previously thought,<sup>371</sup> there was still a strong element of the lottery in the way the system worked, and the Company for its part was simply attempting to dispense with the lottery element by selecting the convicts before they sailed.

From the government's point of view, the arrangement also had the benefit of providing passage to the colonies for a number of economically depressed southern English agricultural labourers and their families – for no cost to the government. It was an arrangement based upon the price that could be charged for the privilege of being assigned a group of unusually experienced agricultural convicts.

The reality of course is that, as an experiment for subsidising the free passage of labourers to the colonies, the arrangement was an evolutionary dead end and it was not repeated. The notion of a labour matching service based in England could not be adapted to cope with the large number of urban convicts who were sentenced to transportation and who did not have agricultural skills of value in the colonies. Most settlers would also not have the capacity to appoint agents to represent their interests in England during any selection process that might take place or be able to afford to pay for the assisted passage of free emigrants. And, finally, although many convicts did have skills that were of benefit in the colonies, the majority were still petty urban criminals with urban skills – not agricultural ones. Accordingly, there would be little

<sup>369</sup> Ibid, p.2. For a comprehensive assessment of the Company's four estates, see J Backhouse and G Walker, Report of Messrs Backhouse and Walker of the Van Diemen's Land Company Establishments, CO 280/42, Reel 255, 9 July 1833.

<sup>370</sup> Note, for example, the human cargo of the *Calcutta*, which was hand picked for the specific purpose of founding a new settlement. M. Tipping, *Convicts Unbound, The Story of the Calcutta Convicts and their Settlement in Australia*, Viking O'Neill, 1988.

<sup>371</sup> S. Nicholas (ed) *Convict Workers: Reinterpreting Australia's Past*, CUP, 1988. Surprisingly, although the book's various contributors frequently refer to the valuable skills brought to the colonies by the 'ploughmen convicts' and 'rural mechanics', there is no mention of the Swing rioters in the entire book, even though they represented the most significant single infusion of these callings into Van Diemen's Land and New South Wales during the Transportation period.

interest on the part of settlers for entering into such an arrangement in respect of most assigned convicts.

In any event, the undertaking by the Company to provide assisted passage to three settlers for every five machine breakers that were assigned to them proved to be something of a sham in the way it was put into effect. The assisted settlers were in fact merely indentured servants and their families whom the Company recruited for their estates from the village of Thetford in Norfolk;<sup>372</sup> they would probably have been brought out to the colony to work on the Company's estates in the north-west even if the arrangement in respect of the machine breakers had not been entered into. The sum result, therefore, was that almost certainly no additional free settlers came out to the colony because of the arrangement.

The arrangement also smacked of Home Office favouritism towards a body that already had a reputation for arrogance in the colony- and so had little chance of gaining support amongst settlers and the local government for its scheme. In the colonial press the Company was variously described as a "potentate" and a "leviathan undertaking" which, like the East India Company, was dedicated to sapping the colony of the vital resources needed to establish the foundations of free enterprise.<sup>373</sup> Duxbury wrote that "while the company's interests lay in strengthening assignment, during the 1830's it found itself increasingly out of line with a growing body of smaller capitalists, interested in expanding the free labour market through assisted immigration."<sup>374</sup> To a great extent the Company was also poorly served in its enterprises during this critical period of its development by Edward Curr, who exhibited a degree of hostility towards the colonial press, influential settlers and Arthur in so many matters that even his own directors frequently felt bound to send him letters of warning or rebuke from England.<sup>375</sup> His autocratic style also extended to his dealings with the local servants of the Company. Following a review of the Company's estates in 1833, Backhouse and Walker reported to Arthur:

The Authority of the Principal Agent of the Company is in many respects despotic. The Agricultural Superintendents are Subject to his controul (*sic*), even in the management of their respective locations: they have no direct communication with the court of Directors: nor can they appeal to that Court without their appeals passing open through his hands.<sup>376</sup>

It is worth noting for comparative purposes a strategy unsuccessfully employed by the other great agricultural company in Australia a few years later. The Australian Agricultural Company in New South Wales had similar, if not greater, needs for

<sup>372</sup> K. Green, *Emigration and Transportation of Rural Dissent*, MS Hobart, August 1997.

<sup>373</sup> *Hobart Town Courier*, 22 June 1832. See also *Hobart Town Gazette*, 17 September 1825.

<sup>374</sup> Duxbury, p.5.

<sup>375</sup> See, for example, VDL 195, *Letter Book of Private Letters of Court of Directors to Tasmanian Agent*, AOT, 24 December 1827 (re his relationship with Arthur), 11 September 1832 (a warning re the company's general unpopularity with the settlers), 28 July 1835 (re his conflict with Dr Ross, the editor of the *Hobart Town Courier*), 21 April 1836 (urging him to make a greater effort to get on with the new Lieutenant Governor Franklin when he arrives than he did with Arthur) and, on the same day, a further reminder!

<sup>376</sup> J. Backhouse and G. Walker, *Report of Messrs Backhouse and Walker of the Van Diemen's Land Company's Establishments*, 9 July 1833, CO 280/42, Reel 255.

labour to that of the Van Diemen's Land Company although it does not appear to have been as eager to use convict labour. This was because it recognized the hidden costs of carrying a large body of convicts.<sup>377</sup> Although it must have had means of influence in London equal to if not greater than those of the Van Diemen's Land Company, the Agricultural Company does not appear to have made any special effort to secure agricultural convicts or mechanics from the *Eleanor*. In fact, the company received only one machine breaker - a shoeing smith named Thomas Warwick of Hampshire who drowned several years later while still assigned to the company.<sup>378</sup> It is quite likely the Agricultural Company noted with interest the Van Diemen's Land Company's success in securing a large number of agricultural convicts but by the time the arrangements had been disclosed, all the machine breakers sent to New South Wales had been assigned. The *Eleanor*, which brought out almost all the machine breakers assigned to the colony had reached Sydney Harbour only a matter of days after the *Eliza* had docked in Hobart Town. No other shiploads were sent out to Sydney Town thereafter.

Perhaps realising it had missed an opportunity, the Australian Agricultural Company searched elsewhere for its agricultural convicts. In late 1835, it actually entered into an agreement with the European state of Hamburg for the annual shipping out to its estates of German rural convicts. The scheme was only vetoed at the last moment by Lord Glenelg, the Secretary of State, when forty prisoners had been mustered and taken to a waiting ship.<sup>379</sup> The nature of the stillborn scheme suggests that the Australian Agricultural Company too, was willing to pay for the privilege of selecting its convict labourers outside the traditional assignment system if an opportunity presented itself, but the Home Government was clearly unwilling to see such an arrangement develop with a foreign power.

The historian K. M. Dallas once ventured the unsubstantiated suspicion that the arrangement entered into by the Van Diemen's Land Company may have been effected through the bribery of some government figures.<sup>380</sup> If this were so, then it must be concluded that a very poor bargain was struck. Melbourne, Howick and Goderich proved to be very stinting in what they gave the Company. When the directors sought more than the original fifty machine breakers, they were soundly rejected; they requested that they be allowed to select the men before the *Eliza* sailed and they were rejected; they requested that the *Eliza* be sent to Launceston instead of Hobart Town to facilitate the receipt of their breakers but Melbourne left the final decision in Arthur's hands; and, to add insult to injury, half the men on the Company's shopping list were sent instead to New South Wales on the *Eleanor*. A dispassionate observer is left with the impression that the Government was willing to respond to the Company's need for an infusion of skilled workers, and may even have been interested to see whether the experiment was a success, but was not willing to compromise itself completely in the process.

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<sup>377</sup> S. Nicholas, p.20.

<sup>378</sup> Hobsbawm and Rudé, p.269.

<sup>379</sup> S. Nicholas, p.36.

<sup>380</sup> K. M. Dallas, *Slavery in Australia - Convicts, Emigrants, Aborigines*. THRA, P&P, Vol 16, No 2, 1968, at p.69.

The major fly in the ointment for the Company's operations in the colony was Arthur. The lieutenant-governor of Van Diemen's Land had very definite views on the Company and how its influence should be limited from impinging on the Assignment System; in his mind the Company and the system were incompatible. In particular, he did not take the view that the royal prerogative exercised in the Company's favour justified its expectation of special treatment in the matter of local assignment of convict labour. He once wrote in very pointed terms to London that the colony needed more of the excess rural populace of England than "even more large capitalists".<sup>381</sup> He also worked diligently to ensure that the Company could not exchange land from its isolated north-western estates for properties closer to the settled districts of the colony – quarantining its influence, as much as possible, to a far corner of the island.<sup>382</sup> There was little love lost between these two men; Arthur once wrote to Under Secretary Hay:

...I never had a more difficult matter to arrange than the settlement of the Van Diemen's Land Company, nor a more unpleasant person to deal with than their agent, Mr Curr..<sup>383</sup>

Paradoxically, on the basic questions of the benefits of Transportation and Assignment, the Company's local agent and Arthur were not very far apart. In 1833, the Company was considering a proposal for the assisted immigration of parish apprentices to its estates and Curr responded in the negative:

I recommend the Court to have nothing to do with Parish apprentices or any other free labour but such as we may hire here, so long as (we) can (be) supplied with convicts. When that supply ceases of course other sources must be looked to. The Court cannot give better advice to persons in power when they have the opportunity than to recommend them to sweep the inmates of the hulks and gaols of England into Van Diemen's Land. *We here convert those who prey upon the public at home into good and useful servants and we reform them which hulks and gaols never do. The whole secret of this is that every master of convicts here is a gaoler for his own benefit. To live we must reform these men.*<sup>384</sup> [author's emphasis]

The above words could have been written by Arthur himself. In fact, Arthur often expressed similar beliefs about the principle of settler self-interest in the Transportation System. In a letter to Lord Goderich in which he defended the system he wrote:

...above all there is in operation...the principle of self-interest. In Van Diemen's Land this obtains to the utmost. Bentham's notion that gaolers should possess a personal interest in the reform of convicts is beautifully realized in Van Diemen's Land; [for the ] settler or farmer...prosperity depends not only

<sup>381</sup> Arthur to Goderich, 10 September 1832, No. 46, GO 33/11.

<sup>382</sup> A.L. Meston, *The Van Diemen's Land Company 1825-1842*, Launceston 1958, p. 34.

<sup>383</sup> Arthur to Hay, 17 October 1828, *HRA, Series III, Vol. VII*, p.619.

<sup>384</sup> VDL 6, Despatch No 246, Curr to Court of Directors, 19 March 1833.

upon the control and discipline, but also upon the selection of his [convict] servant.<sup>385</sup>

He also expressed this view in *Observations* ("The master acts under a similar inducement with that which prompts him to break in the colt he intends for a riding horse").<sup>386</sup>

But the continuing antipathy between Arthur and Curr had more to do with the Company's assumed rights to favoured treatment and to reject unsatisfactory labour than the relative merits of Transportation itself. The case of the *Eliza* men exemplified quite dramatically these tensions in the Colony.

As noted above, Arthur had received broad instructions (they could be put no higher) from Goderich as to what he should do in respect of the Company's expectations for the *Eliza* men. Goderich had already advised the lieutenant-governor that he had refused the Company's request to allow a selection to take place before the *Eliza* sailed "as it may have been considered unfair towards other settlers if the selection of the individual convicts to be assigned to the Company had been made in this country".<sup>387</sup> He instructed Arthur to exercise his own judgment in the matter but ended his note with the rider "it is, however, my desire that you should attend to the wishes of the Company as far as it may be practicable to do so with a due regard to the claims of others".<sup>388</sup>

Although in 1831 the assignment of convicts in Van Diemen's Land was nominally undertaken by Josiah Spode, the Superintendent of Convicts, Arthur approved the final lists.<sup>389</sup> Therefore, the assignment process that took place did so at least with Arthur's concurrence, if not at his direction.

On 30 May 1831, after receiving the *Eliza*'s convict list, Arthur sent a memo to the Colonial Secretary marked "immediate and urgent" outlining Goderich's instructions and noting particularly his reference to the need to balance the claims of others. It concluded:

A list is enclosed of the men whom the Van Diemen's Land Company desire to have assigned to them. It does not appear that all these men have been transported by the *Eliza*, but the Principal Superintendent will exercise his discretion in committing such for the Company as he thinks may with propriety be assigned to them.

Perhaps the most desirable arrangement will be to give the Company twenty five from this ship of whom perhaps at least twenty may be of the men named in their list, and the like number out of the next vessel.<sup>390</sup>

<sup>385</sup> Arthur to Goderich, 27 February 1833. CO 280/39, p. 253. Referred to by P. Chapman, *The Island Panopticon*, HRADP, Centre for Tasmanian Historical Studies, Vol One, No.2, 1990, p.8.

<sup>386</sup> G. Arthur, *Observations Upon Secondary Punishment*, Hobart 1833, p. 17.

<sup>387</sup> Goderich to Arthur, 42 January 1831, Despatch No 7, GO 1/13.

<sup>388</sup> Ibid.

<sup>389</sup> W.D. Forsyth, p.52.

<sup>390</sup> Arthur to Colonial Secretary, 30 May 1831, CSO 1/524/11376.

Blame for the fact that not all the machine breakers desired by the Company were on the *Eliza* cannot be laid at Arthur's feet. His suggestion that only twenty five men, and not fifty, should be assigned to the Company from the *Eliza* complement would be due in great part to advice he had received from Goderich that Bischoff, on behalf of the Company, had requested that the men be divided equally and sent out on two ships in order to facilitate the assimilation of such a large number of convicts more readily.<sup>391</sup> In addition, and separate of any representations made by Bischoff in London, the Company's Hobart manager in the shape of John Kerr had apparently concurred in this approach<sup>392</sup> - although Curr subsequently claimed that his subordinate had instead been presented with a *fait accompli* by Principal Superintendent Spode in respect of the matter.<sup>393</sup>

On 1 June 1831, after making the assignments, Spode wrote to the Colonial Secretary to explain why he could not give the Company the men that it requested-

I have not been able to give that number from those selected by [the Company Directors]...without manifest injustice to the settlers at large- I have therefore appropriated to the Company ten of their selected men and fifteen of the others.<sup>394</sup>

This correspondence clearly indicates that it was Spode's decision, and not Arthur's, to short-change the Company, and for good reasons. Arthur's subsequent ratification of the decision does not detract from the fact that his original written recommendation was an attempt to give effect to the Company's desires as far as possible. His decision not to set aside Spode's assignment list can, of course, be seen as an example of Arthur's "disinterest" in the outcome, by which Duxbury makes Arthur responsible for the decision, but it does not prove a deliberate intention on his part to mischievously obstruct the Company's desires in the matter.

The twenty five men assigned to the Company consisted of ten of the listed Gloucestershiremen (all of whom were ploughmen), ten Wiltshiremen (a mixed group comprising mostly labourers and ploughmen) and five labourers and grooms from Sussex (one), Oxfordshire (one), Hampshire (two) and Essex (one). The Company was not assigned any carpenters as it had requested, but it did receive a blacksmith, the Wiltshireman Arthur Hillier. The ten Gloucestershiremen appear to have been assigned with little science behind their selection; they were simply the first ten names appearing alphabetically on the list of twenty four machine breakers transported from that county. Rudé stated that all of the non-Gloucestershiremen on the Company's shopping list were studiously avoided by Spode (i.e. Arthur) in drawing up the balance of the appropriation list.<sup>395</sup> This may be an exaggeration; eleven of the names on the Company's preferred list of fifty, for example, were from Berkshire but only four of the Berkshiremen arrived in Van Diemen's Land in any event, the rest ending up in New South Wales. This dramatically reduced the likelihood of any of them being

<sup>391</sup> Bischoff to Goderich, 15 January 1831, GO 1/13.

<sup>392</sup> Colonial Secretary to Curr, 7 September 1832, VDL 14.

<sup>393</sup> Curr to Colonial Secretary, CSO 1/13/241, 26 July 1832, p.36.

<sup>394</sup> Spode to Colonial Secretary, 1 June 1831, CSO 1/524/11376, p.98.

<sup>395</sup> Rudé, Captain Swing and VDL, p.16.

assigned to the Company in the first place. The fact that two of the four Berkshire men were mechanics, and therefore almost automatically quarantined for assignment to Public Works, reduced the likelihood even further.

The official correspondence on the matter seems to vindicate the view that Arthur carried out the balancing act very properly, although it is likely that his "disinterest" at crucial moments ensured the Company would not be pleased.

The outcome was a severe disappointment to the Court of the Company and was the cause of another feud between Arthur and Curr, as the machine breakers became a natural lightning rod for the discord between the two men. Their assignment to the Company can in fact be seen as the result of a very judicious weighing of the needs of the Company and those of the other settlers in the colony - which is what Goderich intended. It would also appear that at least one member of the Press felt that, in the circumstances, the outcome was even-handed.<sup>396</sup> Some modern commentators have disagreed; Duxbury, for example, has referred to Arthur's obstinacy in the affair and written "Simply by taking a disinterested approach to applications [for more agricultural convicts and tradesmen] by the company, Arthur ensured that the company would not have sufficient labour to meet the demands of its large land grant and capital outlay."<sup>397</sup> She also questions his explanation of the outcome and, although she clearly carries no torch for either man, prefers Curr's more colourful and self-serving version of events.<sup>398</sup>

Dallas, alternatively, sees the fact that the Company only got twenty five of the machine breakers as merely illustrating the competing pressures from what he called the other slave owners in the colony - "other settlers knew what high grade labourers these were - men who could not be hoped for through normal slave trade channels like petty crime and poverty".<sup>399</sup> In a perverse kind of way, he is probably acknowledging the success of Arthur's balancing act between the competing needs of the Company and of the settlers.

The twenty five machine breakers assigned to the Company were disembarked at Hobart Town rather than Launceston and the Company were left to arrange their transport to the north-west. Arthur justified this action on the grounds that there was no clause in the charter-party under which the *Eliza* could be required to proceed to Launceston.<sup>400</sup> Perhaps because the original charter had been hastily revised in London, there had been difficulties with its terms from the day the vessel dropped anchor in the Derwent River. No provision had been made in the documents, for example, for the Royal Marine guard of thirty nine men and two officers who were meant to be kept on board the vessel for their intended destination of Singapore. The *Eliza* was kept in demurrage (i.e. detained beyond the period normally required for off-loading), presumably until the mess could be sorted out. A number of requests from the master for discharge of his vessel were received and ignored. At one stage, the Colonial Secretary was not even keen for either of the marine officers to leave the

<sup>396</sup> *The Tasmanian (and Southern Literary and Political Journal)*, 4 June 1831, p. 175.

<sup>397</sup> Duxbury, pp. 12 and 14.

<sup>398</sup> *Ibid.*, p. 12.

<sup>399</sup> Dallas, p. 69.

<sup>400</sup> Arthur to Howick, 4 June 1831, GO 33/7, p. 434.

vessel without Arthur's permission, perhaps in case they were not permitted back on board by the master, John Groves.<sup>401</sup> Allowing the ordinary marines to disembark in the circumstances was not even contemplated. A battle of wits ensued, with Groves even being hindered in the landing of 150 empty casks without payment of tonnage, on the basis, he argued, that they had been put on board for the express use of the convicts. Consent for their unloading was not granted until 10 June.

Eventually the *Eliza* was discharged, but only after agreement had been reached for the marines to be sent on to Sydney on another vessel at the master's expense.<sup>402</sup> If the difficulties encountered in getting the ship's master to reach a compromise on the fate of the Marine guard without a proper charter-party are any indication, how much more difficult would it have been for Arthur to secure Groves' agreement to take twenty five machine breaker convicts to Launceston without a charter-party? The likelihood that he may not, in any event, have been inclined to push the issue for the benefit of the Company because of his personal antipathy toward the enterprise does not detract from the significant difficulties that the task posed for him.

Arthur, meanwhile, wrote to Howick. His correspondence indicates he was unaware that the other machine breakers on the Company's shopping list were already in New South Wales. He also explains the benefits to be gained from all charter parties requiring that transported convicts be first dropped off at Hobart Town:

In pursuance of your Lordship's instructions I have caused twenty five of the men transported in the *Eliza* which arrived on the 29<sup>th</sup> ultimo to be assigned, and ten of those have been selected who were named in a communication transmitted to me by the Van Diemen's Land Company. The next vessel will probably contain the other men applied for by the directors, and the additional twenty five shall then be assigned.

It is very satisfactory that your Lordship did not allow a particular selection of men to be made in England, as, undoubtedly, such a system would not fail to create much jealousy and dissatisfaction amongst the settlers generally: and, indeed, the men on this occasion pointed out by the directors were of such a description that the Principal Superintendent represented to me they could not, in fairness, be assigned to any one establishment.

As there was no clause in the charter-party under which the *Eliza* could be required to proceed to Launceston, the men assigned to the Van Diemen's Land Company have necessarily been landed at Hobart Town; and, I am led from the terms of your Lordship's dispatch to take this opportunity to remark, that, I trust the intended clause in the charter-party will provide that the convict ships shall proceed in the first instance to Hobart Town, where, it is indispensable, the convicts should be mustered, their descriptions and every other particular obtained respecting them, and the assignment lists duly prepared, previously to being sent round to Launceston...<sup>403</sup>

<sup>401</sup> CSO 1/524/11376, p.87.

<sup>402</sup> *ibid*, 4 June 1831, p.107.

<sup>403</sup> Arthur to Howick, 10 June 1831, GO 33/7, p.434.



News of Spode's decision to limit the number of machine breakers assigned to the Company in order to maximize the number available for the other settlers, and Arthur's ratification of his decision, were received favourably in the colony. *The Tasmanian* praised the decision in an article which also illustrates the depth of community feeling about the Company. After referring to the role of Pearce and Cripps, and their desire to originally pick the fifty men in England, "to labour upon that princely domain here, which themselves and others of their precious Van Diemen's Land Company possess", the report continued:

And the fifty men so selected and assigned, would have been handed over to the precious Company here, but for the truly independent resistance of our excellent Superintendent of Convicts, Mr Spode, who at once represented to His Excellency the injustice to the great body of settlers, which such an appropriation of so many of the most useful men who ever came to this Island, could not be. The Colony is highly indebted to His Excellency for sanctioning Mr Spode's resistance, and for reducing the number of men thus so unfairly attempted to be got possession of in England, by Messrs Cripps, Pearce & Co, MP's and JP's, etc, etc, to one half. Mr Spode has been thus enabled to assign to almost every agricultural applicant, one ploughman! This is as it should be, and entitles the Local Government to the highest praise.<sup>404</sup>

Such belated positive media comments about the even-handedness of the Crown in assigning labourers to settlers were, however, too late to have any impact on the final decision by Arthur to establish the Assignment Board in 1832 - a response to earlier public criticism that the lieutenant governor had shown bias in the assignment of convicts to settlers.

Curr and his Directors were displeased with the outcome, but did not make an issue out of it at the time, waiting instead until the arrival of the next shipment in anticipation that their numbers would be made up in the agreed manner. It was only after the *Proteus* arrived on 4 August 1831 that the matter came to a head.

The records support the view that Arthur did intend to comply (in letter if not in spirit) with his instructions upon the arrival of the second cargo of rioters. On the assignment list for the *Proteus* as originally drawn up, twelve of the convict names bore endorsements in pen as having been selected for assignment to the Company. Superintendent Spode wrote to John Kerr (the Hobart agent of the Company, residing at Bushy Park at the time) enquiring whether the Company was now ready to receive the balance of its allotted number and - "perhaps in the events of their being required, they can be selected from the ships *Argyle* and *Proteus*".<sup>405</sup>

But on 5 August 1831, John Kerr wrote back to Spode advising him that the remaining twenty five men would not be needed before the middle or end of October next.<sup>406</sup> The twelve endorsements were promptly crossed out in eleven instances and

<sup>404</sup> *The Tasmanian*, 4 June 1831.

<sup>405</sup> Spode to Kerr, CSO 1/13/241, p.33.

<sup>406</sup> Kerr to Spode, 5 August 1831, CSO 1/13/241, p.32.

replaced with the names of individual settlers,<sup>407</sup> and Arthur advised Howick accordingly.<sup>408</sup>

The spirit of the arrangement had been sorely tested by Arthur, however. A close inspection of the list reveals that six of the twelve men originally proposed for allocation to the Company were not machine breakers at all, but were selected from the fourteen ordinary urban criminals who made up the balance of the *Proteus* cargo, none of whom had any agricultural experience. If assigned they would not have proved satisfactory to the Company. Additionally, the twelfth (and only) name from the *Proteus* List who was finally assigned to the Company was a one-armed Buckinghamshire labourer named Samuel Draper. His usefulness, also, to the Company was questionable and Curr succeeded in returning him to the Crown by early 1833.

The more basic question of why only twelve machine breakers from the *Proteus* were selected at that time for assignment, and not twenty five, may have a simple answer. On the same day the *Proteus* dropped anchor, the convict transport *Argyle* also sailed up the Derwent. Her cargo included an unusually large contingent of farm workers, and even some mechanics.<sup>409</sup> In all likelihood, Arthur intended to honour the Home Office's agreement with the Company by assigning twelve convicts from the *Proteus* and thirteen from the *Argyle*. There is strong evidence to support this view; in his letter to Howick advising that Kerr had communicated a desire on the part of the Company not to receive any more convicts at that time, Arthur wrote that, upon the arrival of the *Proteus* and the *Argyle*, he had intended to fill the Company's number with twenty five more men.<sup>410</sup> In addition, Spode's letter to Kerr referred to above specifically mentions the possibility of filling their complement from the *Argyle* as well as the *Proteus*.

Over the following months, a further twenty five convicts of mixed ability and disposition were assigned to the Company in groups of ten and fifteen from two other vessels to make up the promised batch of twenty five.

This did not satisfy Curr. After a delay of many months, presumably occasioned by the need to seek instructions from London, he sent a strongly worded letter to the Colonial Secretary complaining about the Government's failure to keep its side of the bargain. The Company, he wrote, had doubly fulfilled its part of the agreement, having already paid for the passage of sixty immigrants, and was still entitled to a further twenty five convicts "equally useful as the agricultural convicts per *Eliza*".<sup>411</sup>

Arthur read the letter and endorsed it with the exasperated note "Refer to the Principal Superintendent. Did not Mr Kerr decline taking these men? I have it in my mind that it was so!"<sup>412</sup> Following consultation with Principal Superintendent Spode, Burnett drafted a response, referring to Kerr's declining to accept more convicts at that time,

<sup>407</sup> CON 27/7

<sup>408</sup> Arthur to Howick, 15 August 1831, GO 33/8, p.715.

<sup>409</sup> CON 27/5.

<sup>410</sup> Arthur to Howick, 15 August 1831, GO 33/8, p.715.

<sup>411</sup> Curr to Colonial Secretary, 26 July 1832, CSO 1/13/241, p.33.

<sup>412</sup> Ibid.

and concluding "since that period, there has been no disinclination whatever to assign men to the Company, indeed it has been understood until now that it would have been inconvenient to them to have received any greater numbers than have been assigned already".<sup>413</sup>

Notwithstanding the fact that the Company had in the meantime been supplied with a further twenty five convicts to make the figure up to fifty, Arthur must have felt he was on weak ground in respect of the matter, because when the next transport (the *York*) arrived the Company was assigned another fifteen convicts with an apology that the number could not be higher. Despite this placatory gesture by Arthur, the Company's disappointment at not receiving its full complement of machine breakers was extreme. The Court of the Company, which had not fully exonerated local management from precipitating the problem, wrote to Kerr:

Our object was to get, not the number of convicts but the number of that description, fifty agricultural labourers who, with the exception of that crime from which they were expatriated, were considered free from crime, *a description of men which had never before been sent in such numbers to your colony*, and we trust never will be again, and consequently an opportunity of securing such labourers will never again occur. It was a point upon which the Court had taken great interest, and for which they have paid a valuable consideration, and however satisfied we are with your intentions, *we consider the loss of even a single Agricultural Convict a serious evil.*<sup>414</sup>

Eventually accepting that no more machine breakers would become available, the Company made plans to seek compensation in the form of more land grants,<sup>415</sup> but this never eventuated.

Although the correspondence reveals that Arthur was not disposed to play favourites with the Company in the matter of assigning agricultural convicts, he appears to have been justified in taking the course that he did. In particular, the early actions by the Court and Kerr in indicating that they should be assigned in two groups, not one, and the later failure by Curr in his letter of 26 July 1832 to Burnett, to acknowledge that it was the actions of Kerr, his subordinate, which prevented the Company from immediately receiving the balance of its agricultural convicts when the *Proteus* (and the *Argyle*) arrived on 4 August 1831, throws great doubt on the credibility of his version of events. The documentary material supports Arthur's version, not Curr's, and Duxbury's verdict in favour of Curr does not stand up to close scrutiny.

Duxbury has concluded that the uncooperative approach of Arthur and the inflexible approach of the Home Government in the matter of the assignment of the machine breakers to the Company illustrates how the Company and the government in fact had very different visions for how the colony should be developed:

<sup>413</sup> Burnett to Curr, 7 September 1832, VDL 14.

<sup>414</sup> Court of Directors to Kerr, 31 January 1833. Quoted by Rudé, Captain Swing and VDL, p.17. The words in italics were given their editorial emphasis by Rudé.

<sup>415</sup> Rudé, Captain Swing and VDL, p.17.

Governor Arthur's obstinacy in the case of the machine wreckers highlights the obsolete elements in the company's economic philosophy. Power and influence could obtain convicts who possessed superior moral and physical qualities, but these paragons could not be obtained in sufficient quantities for the size of the contemplated enterprise. The expectation of Kerr and the directors that they could command the assistance of the Colonial Office and obtain this labour at bargain prices was also misconceived. Far from obtaining its carefully selected convict labour cheaply, the company was forced to accede to the condition that for every five men assigned to its service by special arrangement, it would send out three free persons at its own expense.<sup>416</sup>

The passage echoes the earlier, pithier conclusion of Meston:

...the trial of strength was not merely between persons but between systems of colonisation and Curr was the agent of the obsolete one.<sup>417</sup>

### **Assignment of Machine Breaker Convicts to Settlers.**

Lieutenant-Governor Arthur had firm ideas as to how the Assignment System should operate, and the manner of assignment of machine breakers to settlers in Van Diemen's Land represents a clear application of those views. His apparent even-handedness during the entire process, which could instead have been used as an opportunity to dispense patronage or display prejudice, generally reflects favourably on him.

The *Eliza* (and, later, the *Proteus*) contained large cargoes of farm labourers and rural mechanics - the two groups that Arthur was constantly lamenting his colony could absorb any number of.<sup>418</sup>

There is a surprising variance in the assessments of how many agricultural labourers were actually transported to the colonies. Shaw and Robson put the figure as high as twenty per cent of all convicts,<sup>419</sup> whereas Nicholas and Shergold put the figure at twelve per cent for the colony of New South Wales.<sup>420</sup> McKay, referring to the specific Van Diemen's Land situation, put the figure at only eight per cent.<sup>421</sup> These conclusions are all based on sample records of varying size and covering different periods, so cannot be regarded as conclusive. It would appear that up until this time Van Diemen's Land had received a smaller percentage of agricultural labourers than New South Wales - perhaps due in part to the fact that it had received very few Irish convicts to date (and notwithstanding Arthur's success in securing some English agricultural labourers for the colony through his influence in Whitehall). A fact equally as important as their large number on the two vessels was that the machine breakers were known to be essentially honest, hardworking men. This gave them a

<sup>416</sup> J. Duxbury, *Colonial Servitude*, p. 12.

<sup>417</sup> A. Meston, *The Van Diemen's Land Company 1825 - 1842*, p.4.

<sup>418</sup> A. McKay, *The Assignment System of Convict Labour in VDL 1824-1842*, MS, Uni. Of Tas. 1958, p. 158.

<sup>419</sup> Robson, p.158

<sup>420</sup> Nicholas and Shergold, *Convicts as Workers*, in S Nicholas (ed), *Convict Workers - Reinterpreting Australia's Past*, at p.68.

<sup>421</sup> McKay, p.157.

dimension that made them even more valuable to the settlers than the typical agricultural labourer who stepped down the gangplank from a convict transport.

It was also rare for any convict transport to sail into Hobart town with more than two or three rural mechanics on board.<sup>422</sup>

Accordingly, settlers in Van Diemen's Land placed great value on the cargo of 322 agricultural labourers and rural mechanics on the *Eliza* and the *Proteus*.

But Arthur was determined that satisfying the claims of settlers for assigned convicts did not interfere with the primary colonial object of disciplining and reforming the prisoners.<sup>423</sup> He regarded it as one of his most important duties to limit the assignment of men as far as possible to settlers of whose good character the Government could be absolutely confident.<sup>424</sup>

Allied to this was Arthur's desire to reward and encourage those settlers who had demonstrated, through their hard work, innovation and financial commitment, that they were sinking their roots in the colony. By definition, these persons were of good character. A simple example was Andrew Gatenby of the Isis River district, whom Arthur had previously singled out in a report for special mention because of his excellent domestic economy, evident land improvements and general good character.<sup>425</sup> Gatenby was to be assigned the thirty one year old Wiltshire ploughman William Hillman. Another worthy settler was William Sharland, a colonial surveyor and explorer, who leased 2200 acres at Hamilton, north of New Norfolk. He was highly regarded by Arthur because of his pioneering work in hop growing and was to be assigned a number of machine breakers from the two vessels.

As would be expected of a military man, he also regarded former officers as proper material.<sup>426</sup> Such people were in fact not above reminding the vice-regal representatives of their claim to special consideration from time to time either. Major Donald McLeod of the 73<sup>rd</sup> Regiment, who initially secured the services of the twenty two year old Buckinghamshire ploughman John Butler, for example once claimed to Secretary for the Colonies Bathurst to be "one of the very first persons of respectability in the rank of a Gentleman who came to the colony decidedly as a settler".<sup>427</sup> As previously mentioned, Arthur had a particularly strong preference for the settler who sank his own capital into the land and developed it himself. He felt that such an immigrant was the best type of convict master.<sup>428</sup> It also explains his low opinion of the absentee landlord status of the Van Diemen's Land Company.

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<sup>422</sup> McKay, p. 157.

<sup>423</sup> McKay, p. 87.

<sup>424</sup> McKay, p. 89.

<sup>425</sup> W. D. Forsyth, *Governor Arthur's Convict System, Van Diemen's Land 1824-1836*, SUP, 1970, p7., Also, ADB, Vol 1.

<sup>426</sup> McKay, p.104. In *Observations Upon Secondary Punishment*, Hobart 1833 at p.21, Arthur wrote "such are the individuals to whom under the denomination of free settlers a large proportion of the assignments are made".

<sup>427</sup> McLeod to Bathurst, March 1836, CSO 1/198/4677. Referred to by H. Maxwell-Stewart, *The Bushrangers and the Convict System of Van Diemen's Land, 1803-1846*, Ph.D., University of Edinburgh, 1990, p.170.

<sup>428</sup> McKay, p. 153.

The assignment lists for the *Eliza* (and later the *Proteus*) reflect these attitudes.

There were many ex-military men among the settlers who received assignees off the *Eliza*. Although not all former officers were accorded their ranks on the assignment list, at least twenty two of them (and perhaps up to thirty) can be firmly identified as such through documents like the *Journal of the Land Commissioners For Van Diemen's Land, 1826 - 1828*. General orders had been issued by the War Office which provided opportunities for officers on half pay to take up land grants in the colonies if they emigrated – in some circumstances without loss of their half pay – as a means of encouraging such desirable gentlemen to settle in the colonies. Some had also sold their commissions to buy additional land.<sup>429</sup> Half of the officers assigned machine breakers were formerly members of the Honourable East India Company Service. One ex-officer worthy of particular mention was William De Gillern, who fought at Waterloo as aide-de-camp to the Duke of Brunswick. He was assigned the 44 year old Gloucesterman James Case, who was a ploughman. A few years later, De Gillern also employed George Loveless, the leader of the Tolpuddle Martyrs, as a ticket of leave holder. Case's period of assignment to De Gillern's farm near Richmond overlapped with that of Loveless' employment on the property, but there is no record of what these two very different social protesters ever said to each other.<sup>430</sup>

Also represented on the assignment lists were clergymen, lawyers, doctors and settlers who had already exhibited a talent for reforming prisoners or developing their own grants successfully, such as Andrew Gatenby.

Two clergymen, the Reverend Dr Brown and the Reverend R.B. Davis, received machine breakers on assignment, as did surgeon doctors Desailly, Thomas and Mather, and the lawyers Edward Abbott, Gamaliel Butler and Thomas Horne. Interestingly, two women settlers were also assigned rioters. They were Mrs Collins of Macquarie Plains and Mrs Ann Bridger of Ellen Grove in New Norfolk. Mrs Bridger was in fact both a landowner and a publican in the New Norfolk district, being the proprietor of the Bush Inn, which is still operating. Her husband Henry kept another inn called the Fairfield House on the Plenty Road.<sup>431</sup> Mrs Collins was probably a widow, whose husband had first established their property. Other well-known settlers who received a machine breaker were the noted colonial artist John Glover and the diarist G.T.W.B. Boyes.

Admittedly, there are indications that some favouritism may have been at work in the assignment of the machine breakers. Six of the *Eliza* men, for example, were assigned to members of the Legislative Council or persons who shortly thereafter became members. Although it is clearly arguable that a settler who is deemed deserving by the lieutenant governor of a seat on the Legislative Council would also be expected to be a worthy candidate for the assignment of a valuable convict worker, the fact is that no machine breaker from the *Proteus* was assigned to a Council member, unless that

<sup>429</sup> *HRA Series III, Vol VII*, Note 137, p.730.

<sup>430</sup> De Gillern's suitability as a master of convicts was subsequently recognized by his appointment in 1843 as a convict probation station manager in the colony at Rocky Hills.

<sup>431</sup> J. Cowburn and R. Cox, *New Norfolk's History and Achievements*, New Norfolk Bicentennial Committee, 1986, p. 53.

settler had already been first assigned a convict from the *Eliza*. This suggests that the Legislative Councillors' needs were filled from the first cargo of machine breakers that became available, rather than expecting even one of them to wait until the next shipment arrived. Those settlers were James Cox, William Kermode, Richard Willis, William Lawrence, Thomas Anstey and John Leake.

Senior colonial officers were not averse to taking advantage of the situation, either. Josiah Spode took the opportunity to assign himself a 21 year old ploughman named Thomas Vinen for working on his property. In addition, Major Lord, the commandant on Maria Island also received a machine breaker, probably for his East Coast property.

As would be expected, all the notable major landowners in the colony received at least one machine breaker each. They included family names that are still well-known in the island - Roderic O'Connor, Thomas Reibey, Thomas Archer, Anthony Kemp, Edward Lord, John Bisdee, Franz Ludwig Von Bibra and Thomas C. Simpson.

There were a few surprises in the list, including at least three emancipists. The most notable was James Austin, who first arrived in the colony as a convict on the *Calcutta*, but who now owned an inn and a property named Roseneath. Generally speaking, Arthur was not in favour of assigning convicts to expirees.<sup>432</sup> His view was that because of their own convict experience they were either too lenient or, if embittered by the process, kept a savage discipline.<sup>433</sup> But Austin was an exceptional man who by 1831 had been free and prosperous for many years, having accumulated nearly 3000 acres of land by virtue of grants and purchases.<sup>434</sup> He made a particularly favourable impression on Governor Macquarie during his visit to Van Diemen's Land in 1821, and had entertained the governor at his house at Roseneath.<sup>435</sup> Another ex-convict assigned a machine breaker was David Gibson, who owned a large property at Evandale and was also a *Calcutta* man. Macquarie had also stayed at his farm as a guest during a trip to the colony. By the time he was assigned a machine breaker, Gibson had amassed property of 7300 acres, running 4000 sheep and 1500 cattle, although Arthur was only ever known to speak in slighting terms of Gibson's achievements.<sup>436</sup> The third known ex-convict was Thomas Wells, who had served as clerk to Lieutenant Governor Sorell for a period. He had also been successful after receiving his freedom but bad fortune had almost ruined him, and by the time he was assigned a machine breaker for his modest property, he was working as an accountant in Launceston.<sup>437</sup>

Another apparent surprise on the assignment list was Thomas Lascelles, a former Army officer and public servant who had been disgraced and relieved of his office as police magistrate in 1829 for malpractices.<sup>438</sup> There had also been scandals in his personal life and he was often in trouble with the police magistrates and Spode on

<sup>432</sup> Arthur to Goderich No 33, 17 August 1830.

<sup>433</sup> McKay, p.89.

<sup>434</sup> ADB, Vol 1, MUP 1966.

<sup>435</sup> Ibid

<sup>436</sup> ADB, Vol 1.

<sup>437</sup> Ibid

<sup>438</sup> Ibid

matters relating to his convicts and his loose tongue.<sup>439</sup> He appears to be a rare exception to the rule that convicts should only be assigned to respectable settlers.

One issue worthy of consideration is whether Arthur used the machine breakers' assignment process as an opportunity to dispense patronage of a very personal kind, and to deny any of the valuable cargo to settlers whom he disliked. Although there is some evidence that there was a slight preference demonstrated towards his friends and his most loyal colonial officers – all people who could equally argue that they were persons worthy of special attention in any event – in general Arthur did not give in to the temptation to only dispense rewards to his supporters and friends. Among those settlers who received machine breakers were a reasonable number who had clashed with Arthur, either personally or publicly. They included David Lord, George Frankland, Edward Abbott, Edward Lord and George Meredith. When these and other settlers are added to the emancipists and disgraced magistrate referred to above, they represent a fair number and suggest that Arthur did adopt a degree of magisterial fairness in the allocation of the machine breakers.

This conclusion is supported by the fact that the machine breakers were spread relatively evenly among the applicants as well, with each settler who applied for an assigned convict and who met the criteria receiving at least one man.<sup>440</sup> In addition, their geographical distribution throughout the colony was fairly even, with only about twenty more of the breakers being assigned to properties south of Oatlands compared to those assigned in the north.<sup>441</sup> Although most settlers received only one assignee each, there were a few exceptions; James Cox, Thomas Rowley, William Sharland and George Meredith, for example, received two each from the *Eliza*.<sup>442</sup> Lieutenant Davies received one machine breaker each from the *Proteus* and the *Eliza*. Even Spode, the Superintendent of Convicts, took advantage of the opportunity, by arranging for the assignment of a second machine breaker to himself from the *Proteus* when it docked (the Norfolk ploughman Thomas Lincoln). It should be noted that most of the settlers who were assigned more than one machine breaker also owned or leased more than one property in the colony.

The settlers apparently most favoured by the assignment process were Thomas Reibey, who received one from the *Eliza* and two from the *Proteus*, and Captain Patrick Wood, who appears to have received three from the *Eliza*. This is exceptional, but in the case of Reibey at least is explained by the fact that the first *Proteus* man assigned to him was taken to hospital on the day he was formally assigned to Reibey and quickly passed away. A fresh assignment was therefore presumably deemed necessary. In correspondence with the Colonial Secretary, Spode justified these few exceptional arrangements whereby some settlers received two or more assignees by explaining that they were persons who had recently lost a number of men through the granting of tickets of leave.<sup>443</sup> This, in itself, was an acknowledgement that those

<sup>439</sup> See, for example, CSO 1/817/17482, when in 1835 he grossly insulted a police magistrate after one of his ploughmen was found to have been loaned to another farmer without permission. He was prosecuted and ordered to find a surety of 160 pounds.

<sup>440</sup> *The Tasmanian*, 4 June 1831.

<sup>441</sup> Rudé, Captain Swing and VDL, p. 14.

<sup>442</sup> CON 27/7.

<sup>443</sup> Spode to Colonial Secretary, 1 June 1831, CSO 1/524/11376, p.98.



particular settlers had been successful in managing (and reforming) their assigned servants and improving their properties, and so were to be rewarded with further convicts. Presumably, this explanation also justified Spode's own actions.

In total, 169 machine breakers off the *Eliza* were assigned to settlers.<sup>444</sup>

### **Assignment of Machine Breaker Convicts to the Public Works**

The third stream for assignment of the machine breakers was to the Department of Public Works, which received thirty of them.

Although all the "city tradesmen" - the seven tailors and shoemakers- were assigned to settlers, most of the "country tradesmen" were assigned to the Public Works Department. The reservation of tradesmen for public works was the practice at the time and Arthur adhered to the practice even though the numbers being dealt with were much higher than the handful of mechanics from any typical convict transport. The machine breaker tradesmen included bricklayers, carpenters, sawyers, and plasterers. The only apparently unqualified machine breaker assigned to Public Works was the 26 year old Wiltshireman Thomas Burt. His entry in the Assignment List describes him as a ploughman, but his indent, on the other hand, describes him as a top sawyer. The fact that he is the single apparent exception suggests it is more likely that he did have sufficient trade skills as a sawyer to justify assigning him to the Public Works.

All but three mechanics were assigned to the Public Works, and they were all blacksmiths from Wiltshire. One was Arthur Hillier who went to the Van Diemen's Land Company Establishment in response to the Company's request for tradesmen. The other two claimed to be blacksmiths - although this is doubtful. The assignment list entry for the 38 year old blacksmith Thomas Brind was annotated "vacant" although he was ultimately assigned to Mr R Harrison. His episodes of violence and general misbehaviour while with that master eventually led to a sentence on the road gang. (See Brind's Appendix entry). Perhaps Superintendent Spode was not convinced as to his trade skills or his general good character when he interviewed him and, after some deliberation, had decided to assign him to a settler instead of the Public Works. The other purported blacksmith was 27 year old William Baker. He was quite deaf and had a serious speech impediment; it is possible that Spode concluded this disability might limit his usefulness if being loaned out to a string of different masters. Equally, his blacksmithing skills might have not been great. Whatever the reason, Baker was assigned to the settler Lieutenant Gunning. The fact that the three blacksmiths were not reserved for the Public Works (and later the Loan Gang) could, of course, also indicate that the colonial authorities had a policy of assigning blacksmiths to individual settlers, but the pattern is not evident elsewhere. It is likely that the assignment of the three men on this occasion was due more to the need to respond to the Van Diemen's Land Company's request for tradesmen, and the questionable attributes of the other two blacksmiths.

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<sup>444</sup> Of these 169 men, three were originally annotated on the assignment list as 'not assigned' or 'vacant' but were subsequently assigned to settlers.

Ordinarily, craftsmen assigned to the Public Works would find themselves working on public buildings and bridges as happened, for example, with the four machine breakers who worked at various times on the historic Ross Bridge.<sup>445</sup> But this may not have immediately happened with all of them.

After drawing up the assignment list, Spode wrote to the Colonial Secretary to advise him of the manner of disposition of the *Eliza* men:

It is incumbent for me to state also that finding nearly the whole of them in the ship "ploughmen", I have appropriated only one man to each service, except in a very few particular instances, such as having lost men by tickets of leave, in order more equitably to distribute such useful labour..... The whole of the mechanics excepting blacksmiths are marked for the public works, but with the intention of adding them to the Loan Gang for the use of internal settlers.<sup>446</sup>

It is clear that, initially at least, the craftsmen were put to work in "the several Departments of the Government".<sup>447</sup> A similar policy was later also adopted with the craftsmen off the *Proteus* when she arrived.

The gathering of the majority of tradesmen into the Public Works for their use on public building programs and lending out to settlers on a controlled basis contrasts dramatically with the direct assignment of almost every one of the large number of mechanics on the *Eleanor* to settlers in New South Wales. Only one of them, a trained road surveyor, was reserved for Government service.<sup>448</sup> This illustrates in a very simple way the different strategies being implemented in the two colonies at this time; the newer, smaller colony with its limited resources and infrastructure still being very much reliant on the controlled, short term allocation within the island of a finite resource like convict tradesmen, whereas New South Wales by this time relied almost exclusively on the entrepreneurialism of its settlers for development.

### **The Arrival of the *Proteus* and the Assignment of its Cargo**

Instructions for the 253 ton Java built *Proteus* to proceed to Portsmouth and embark 132 male convicts for Van Diemen's Land had been prepared on 18 February 1831. Unlike the *Eliza* and the *Eleanor*, which had pre-existing charter agreements for convict cargoes, the terms of which required hasty re-writing, the *Proteus* may have been specifically chartered with the intention that she take machine breakers to Van Diemen's Land. Ultimately, she did not embark a full complement of machine breakers simply because there were only about a hundred such men left on the hulk *York* by the time she was ready to sail. They primarily consisted of the last machine breakers to be dealt with by the Special Commissions and Assizes, and those men who had received belated commutations of their original death sentences in favour of transportation for life or for seven or fourteen years. Some of the local leaders of riots received the death sentence from the Special Commissions and accordingly they were

<sup>445</sup> Rudé, Captain Swing and VDL, p.16.

<sup>446</sup> Spode to Colonial Secretary, 1 June 1831, CSO 1/524/11376, p.98.

<sup>447</sup> Arthur to Howick, 4 June 1831, GO 33/7, p.434.

<sup>448</sup> Rudé, Captain Swing in NSW, p.472.

somewhat heavily represented on the *Proteus* as a result of being held over until Melbourne could make a decision about commuting these sentences. In addition to the better known leaders (and radicals) like Thomas Goddard and Thomas Blizzard, there were a number of minor leaders of the smaller, village based disturbances like James Baker of Wiltshire and James Barton of Buckinghamshire. There were also a few latecomers like Thomas Goodman, who had finished giving his Crown evidence in the unsuccessful trial against William Cobbett.

Primarily because of her smaller size, the voyage of the *Proteus* had been much more uncomfortable for her cargo of unfortunates than the *Eliza's* – although mercifully faster. She had left England on 14 April 1831. The master for the voyage was Sylvester Brown and the guard was provided by a Captain Lowe of the 16<sup>th</sup> Lancers, with twenty rank and file from his regiment. His second - in - command was Lieutenant Kirby of the 13<sup>th</sup> Regiment. The surgeon superintendent was Dr Thomas Logan, who maintained a very comprehensive record of the voyage. Also on board were Master Brown's wife and three children, and a servant.

As mentioned above, Logan had arranged for the leg irons to be removed from the machine breakers very early in the voyage as he feared for their safety due to their lack of sea legs. It was not enough to prevent all ship-side injuries, however. The large William Hughes from Huntingdonshire, for example, injured his knee once when getting out of his sleeping berth. Dr Logan recorded the fact that Hughes slept in one of the upper berths - "not the most suitable lot, certainly, for a clumsy rustic."<sup>449</sup>

Although the voyage as far as Cape Town was bearable, once the *Proteus* ventured into the Indian Ocean, the weather turned worse, and the small vessel did not handle it well. Captain Brown ordered that the scuttles be left in place, for fear of shipping in too much water:

The situation of the ship was dismal. She was a small vessel and took in water over her deck upon every degree of motion beyond that present in very fine weather. With few exceptions, she had been almost inundated, day and night since we had turned the Cape, and it had been found absolutely necessary to batten down the main hatchway. The prison was therefore dark, excepting near the fore and after hatchway. Much leakage existed, and the prison was quite wet. This misery sufficiently explains the singular consolation derived from the near prospect of arriving in the Derwent.

In darkness, in damp and wet and after weeks of gales, and excessive motion of the ship almost too harassing and exhausting to be much longer endured, nothing could be more appalling than that of even one other month's continuance in the circumstances described.<sup>450</sup>

It was to be the only voyage she ever made as a convict transport.

<sup>449</sup> ADM 101/62, Reel 3208.

<sup>450</sup> Ibid.

The *Proteus* arrived in the River Derwent on 4 August 1831, having made a speedy albeit uncomfortable voyage which did not include any stops en route.

The arrival of the *Proteus* in the Derwent River did not arouse anywhere near as much public interest and controversy as the arrival of her much larger sister vessel over two months earlier. In part this may have been due to overwhelming media interest at the time in far more newsworthy events at home and abroad. The ship brought with her newspapers from England which detailed the passage of the Reform Bill through Parliament and the Polish Insurrection against Russia, both of which were subsequently covered in great detail in the colonial press.<sup>451</sup> As well, there was great local interest at the time in the trial of two convicts who absconded from Macquarie Harbour and resorted to cannibalism of their fellow-convicts in order to survive in the inhospitable west. The press reports of the arrival of the *Proteus* were pushed into corners to make more room for the execution-eve confessions of Edward Broughton and Mathew Macavoy.<sup>452</sup>

It was the fate of the convicts from the "less favoured" *Proteus* always to live in the shadow of the men of the *Eliza*.<sup>453</sup> Arthur, for example, frequently referred to the *Eliza* men in his correspondence, but virtually never to those from the *Proteus*. There are a number of possible reasons for this. Obviously in great part it is because the *Eliza* arrived first, and with a much larger contingent of machine breakers. The dilution of the *Proteus* cargo by the inclusion of fourteen ordinary criminals - even though they were of the better sort - would have contributed to this public and official disinterest, as well as the fact that a smaller proportion were tradesmen. Arriving in the Derwent River at the same time as the *Argyle*, another convict transport which also carried a relatively large number of rural convicts, would not have helped, either. The local press quickly passed its judgement:

We regret to learn that the men in the prison ships now in the harbour are not by any means so good a set as those by the *Eliza*.<sup>454</sup>

Additionally, the fact that only one *Proteus* machine breaker- and a cripple at that- was assigned to the Van Diemen's Land Company meant the media and the settlers had less reason to be interested in the fate of these later arrivals- particularly because most of the influential settlers appear to have already had their immediate needs for ploughmen and other agricultural labourers satisfied from the *Eliza* contingent.

Like the *Eliza*, the *Proteus* had its own minor drama in the River Derwent after its cargo had been unloaded. For some undisclosed reason, the ship's crew at first refused to take the *Proteus* on to Sydney- its contracted destination. Captain Brown attempted in vain to get first the colony's chief magistrate and Arthur himself to intervene, but they refused, claiming they were powerless to do so.<sup>455</sup> She finally

<sup>451</sup> Correspondence file - *Proteus*, State Librarian, AOT.

<sup>452</sup> See, for example, the *Hobart Colonial Times*, 10 August 1831.

<sup>453</sup> Rudé, Captain Swing and VDL, p.16.

<sup>454</sup> *Hobart Town Courier*, 6 August, 1831

<sup>455</sup> J. H. Nicholson (ed), *Shipping Arrivals and Departures, Tasmania, 1803-1833*, Roebuck, Canberra, 1983.

departed on 20 August, taking with her the contingent of 16<sup>th</sup> Lancers as a guard for seven runaway convicts from New South Wales, who had been apprehended in Van Diemen's Land.<sup>456</sup>

As to whether the general quality of the *Proteus* men was below that of the *Eliza* men - it is hard to generalize, but there is some evidence to suggest they would not have been as highly valued in the colony. For a start, only twelve of the ninety eight were craftsmen, whereas forty three of the 224 men on the *Eliza* claimed to have trades. And Rudé noted that, whereas the conviction rate of *Eliza* men during their period of transportation was only 1.3 per man, for the *Proteus* it was 2.15 per man.<sup>457</sup> Although the latter is still a lower figure than the average six convictions per man that Robson attributes to male convicts in the colony at the time, and which Rudé quotes with approval,<sup>458</sup> it does suggest that the level of disobedience and resistance was higher among the *Proteus* men. Not too much should be read into this statistic however; it could merely reflect the aggregation of a number of factors, the primary one being that a higher percentage of the *Proteus* men were fourteen year or life transportees, and so endured longer periods in custody, during which time they had the opportunity to accumulate longer records of disobedience.

After processing, all the *Proteus* men were assigned to private settlers or the Public Works Department. The make-up of the list of settlers reflects that of the *Eliza* in that there is a fairly even spread of masters from the north and the south, as well as a selection of ex-military men and other respectable landowners. Respectable, well connected settlers were still the favoured ones for receiving assignees; the Norfolk ploughman George Howes, for example, was assigned to Thomas Horne, the colony's leading barrister who later became Attorney-General, then Supreme Court judge and eventually President of the Legislative Council.

There is circumstantial evidence of an attempt by one anonymous colonial bureaucrat to secure a personal benefit through gaining an intimate preview of the machine breakers before others had an opportunity to see and assess them. In his Surgeon's Report, Dr Logan recorded the shipboard illness of John Simon Clark, a single 22 year old Huntingdonshire groom. The tuberculosis that Clark had contracted on the voyage was well treated by Logan and he noted:

Our success was such that, except to an initiated eye, Clark was brought to Van Diemen's Land in apparent health. One of the clerks of the Principal Superintendent was so well pleased with the lad's appearance that he resolved to apply for him to be his servant. But that same day, this prisoner was seized with the very thoracic inflammation against which, up to this time, so much successful pains had been bestowed.<sup>459</sup>

The clerk promptly lost interest in the Huntingdonshire breaker and he was written in for assignment to Thomas Reibey instead. Tragically, Clark was in hospital within a further day and died a week later.

<sup>456</sup> Correspondence file - *Proteus*, State Librarian, AOT.

<sup>457</sup> Rudé, *Captain Swing and VDL*, p.14.

<sup>458</sup> Rudé, *Protest and Punishment*, p.211.

<sup>459</sup> ADM 101/62, Reel 3208.

There is an apparent discrepancy in the *Proteus* records that requires an explanation. The Assignment List for the *Proteus* discloses that all twelve craftsmen were officially assigned to the Loan Gang, two labourers went to the New Town water party, and the other seventy eight (mostly ploughmen) to private settlers<sup>460</sup>, whereas in correspondence to Viscount Howick, Arthur reported that all were assigned to settlers, apart from two who were employed in the Public Works.<sup>461</sup> Hobsbawm and Rudé certainly relied on this letter of Arthur's to explain what happened to the *Proteus* mechanics.<sup>462</sup> Presumably the rationalisation for this inconsistency is that tradesmen assigned to the Loan Gang were regarded by Arthur as having been assigned (indirectly) to settlers.

The Loan Gang was a pool of skilled convicts who were, as the name suggests, loaned out to settlers for limited periods- usually until specified building or other mechanical tasks had been completed. During the 1820s and 1830s, until assisted immigrant mechanics began arriving, the colony was almost entirely dependant on the offerings of the convict transports for tradesmen.<sup>463</sup> As McKay noted, "There was no question whether convict mechanics should be assigned".<sup>464</sup> They were all employed by the Public Works Department, frequently on the Loan Gang, which was an effective means of distributing a finite and valuable resource for limited periods of time. Strictly speaking, it is probably correct to describe the craftsmen from the *Proteus* as being assigned to private settlers, although their stay with any particular settler may have only been measured in weeks or months.

There was always a suspicion that Arthur used the Loan Gang as a means of dispensing patronage and displaying favouritism to particular settlers,<sup>465</sup> although the complaint does not ever appear to have specifically been made out in respect of the assignment of machine breakers. If anything, Arthur's stated policy that preference should always be given to requests from country areas for Loan Gang mechanics, for reasons of discipline and reform,<sup>466</sup> appears to have been closely followed in the case of the machine breaker mechanics. The limited pictures that can be built up of the assignment of these men indicate that they rarely if ever found themselves assigned within the two larger settlements of Launceston and Hobart - with the possible exception of the "city tradesmen" among their ranks.

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<sup>460</sup> CON 27/7.

<sup>461</sup> Arthur to Howick, 10 August 1831, GO 33/8, p.677.

<sup>462</sup> Hobsbawm and Rudé, p.269.

<sup>463</sup> McKay, p.164.

<sup>464</sup> McKay, p.165.

<sup>465</sup> McKay, p.258, Shaw, p.217, and see *The Colonist*, 16 July 1833.

<sup>466</sup> McKay, p.167.

## PART 4

THE CONVICT EXPERIENCE OF THE MACHINE BREAKERS FROM  
THE *PROTEUS* AND THE *ELIZA*

The story of the machine breaker convicts represents a unique opportunity to evaluate the convict experience on a sizeable group of persons who could not be regarded as ordinary petty criminals - the class that comprised the overwhelming majority of transported convicts. In most cases, the machine breakers did not even regard themselves as having committed a crime when they destroyed threshing machines or pulled down workhouses. Regret for their deeds, expressed in petitions for mercy and in the few letters that have survived<sup>467</sup> came later on, when their fates were known.

The machine breakers were not a truly homogeneous group. It would be wrong, for example, to assume they were all honest or honourable men. Despite the fact that most of the offences they had been convicted of prior to the Swing riots could be blamed on their poverty (particularly in the case of those men supporting families), there were a number of exceptions to this rule. There was the 18 year old Wiltshire ploughman John Legg, for example, who threatened severe violence to the woman Elizabeth Montgomery unless she handed money over to him during the riots. This was a most un-gallant act, but was in keeping with the generally bad reputation that he had earned in his village. His subsequent conduct record in Van Diemen's Land could be interpreted as bearing testimony to an inherently bad character. And there is the case of Thomas Seaman, a 45 year old ploughman from Kent, who had previously been convicted in England on various occasions of burglary (capitally), assault and one other misdemeanour, as well as having been charged but acquitted of arson. During the riots, he did not engage in machine breaking; instead he took the opportunity offered by the confusion to steal a gun from a farm. His subsequent conduct record in the colony confirms that he was essentially a petty criminal. There is also the Hampshire ploughman/shepherd Jeremiah Farmer who had twice been convicted of stealing clothes - including one occasion when he stole shoes and a great coat from his own brother, another ploughman. After the riots, he was convicted of demanding money with menace. Unlike the other two, his subsequent career in Van Diemen's Land was more respectable.

The machine breakers from the *Proteus* and the *Eliza* could not even be regarded as a fair cross-section of English rural types. They were all drawn from the south of the country, with only three counties contributing almost half their number. In addition, tradesmen were significantly over-represented because of the heavier sentences handed down on those groups.

Although it is not appropriate to make sweeping generalizations about their character, like describing them as the best labourers in England - as Orator Hunt did,<sup>468</sup> nor

<sup>467</sup> See, for example, the letter of Peter Withers to his wife, dated 5 April 1831, *Ibid*.

<sup>468</sup> *London Times*, 9 February 1831.

ennobling them as the sole honest protesters of conscience of their generation - as the Hammonds described them,<sup>469</sup> they were nevertheless a generally law abiding group of rural Englishmen. In fact, if the typically rural offences of stealing wood, poaching, stealing vegetables, trespassing and leaving their master- all of which owe their criminality to the desperate times - were stripped out of their records, there are very few with convictions for offences of a serious kind. In ordinary circumstances, only a small number of the machine breakers would have been transported during their lives. To that extent, they make an interesting test group.

The convict system that Arthur had instituted in Van Diemen's Land was designed to offer the criminal the opportunity to redeem himself and become an honest and useful citizen. It enabled each convict to find his natural level and progress thereafter within the classification system created by the lieutenant-governor. Arthur once described the classification system thus:

Classification is the soul of convict discipline...Of all the conditions in which they can be placed, that of private assignment is the most desirable, and that of being placed in a chain gang in a penal settlement, the most harassing, degraded and miserable. The intermediate classes are visited with privations more or less severe, according to the part of the scale of character to which each belongs.<sup>470</sup>

Although the classification system provided an opportunity for the convict to redeem himself and therefore find life less uncomfortable than it might otherwise have been, it also offered the threat of life becoming decidedly more uncomfortable if he resisted - "a convict addicted to stubbornness, idleness or insolence found his lot step by step harder to bear as he descended the rungs of the penal ladder".<sup>471</sup>

The question one must ask is what effect could such a system instead have on the convict who was, by most standards, already an honest person and so did not need redeeming? Equally, could the system have a brutalizing effect on them, and turn some into criminals?

### **Arthur's Attitude to the Machine Breakers.**

Political or social protesters like the machine breakers never sat comfortably within the Transportation and Assignment Systems as managed by Arthur. Notwithstanding their political crimes, such convicts tended to be "men of industrious habits and fair moral character"<sup>472</sup> so they did not need redeeming, and they usually worked hard when assigned to masters. Arthur was inclined to distinguish between convicts of different categories, and his actions and letters (demonstrated below) show that he clearly saw protesters as a special case. It is unusual, therefore, that he did not take the opportunity represented by his *Observations Upon Secondary Punishment*<sup>473</sup> to venture some comments upon their position within the Transportation System.

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<sup>469</sup> Hammonds, p.239.

<sup>470</sup> G Arthur, *Observations Upon Secondary Punishment*, Hobart, 1833, p.16.

<sup>471</sup> McKay, p.64.

<sup>472</sup> Rudé, *Protest and Punishment*, p.244

<sup>473</sup> G Arthur, *Observations Upon Secondary Punishment*, Hobart, 1833.



On a number of occasions Arthur displayed an interest in the welfare of political or social protesters who had been transported - sometimes to his own detriment. It is clear that he did so in the case of the machine breakers, although not to the same extent as he had for other protesters.

In 1826, for example, Arthur had forwarded to Bathurst a petition for a pardon from ten convicts, including William Rice and Joseph Firth, who had been transported for life in 1820 for high treason. The story of the Yorkshire Weavers, as they were called, represents an interesting comparison with the machine breakers. The object of their rising was to foment a rebellion in Yorkshire, the causes of which were the economic misery of the weavers and the Peterloo Massacre of a few months earlier.<sup>474</sup> The fact that no lives were lost as a result of their failed rebellion, and their own poverty, weighed heavily in their favour with the judge who sentenced them to transportation for life. Most of this small group of protesters led salutary lives as convicts in Van Diemen's Land and garnered the support of their masters for pardons.

In forwarding their petition, Arthur recommended that it be considered favourably because they had been deserving characters.<sup>475</sup> This action earned him a rebuke from Sir Robert Peel<sup>476</sup> but it did not stop him from forwarding a second petition in 1828 on behalf of Rice, who was regarded highly by the colony's Chief Justice Pedder. In his accompanying letter, Arthur argued that a distinction should be made between "convicts of different character and classes, whether convicted of high treason or not".<sup>477</sup> In a separate letter to William Huskisson, Arthur wrote:

Since the period I have been honoured with the confidence of His Majesty in the Administration of this Colony, it has been my anxious and most unremitting Effort to render Transportation a more dreaded punishment, and I trust my endeavours have not been ineffectual, and therefore, whilst far more coercive discipline is now maintained over the dissolute Class of Convicts, with whom the Colony abounds, I feel that I may with more propriety, hold out some encouragement to those who are deserving of some mitigation.

There is no offence, I apprehend, including High Treason, in which there are strong shades of distinction in the characters of offenders, and, although I am well aware the case of every Culpit is fully and mercifully considered at home, yet, in the mass of them which are constantly to be weighed, it must happen that the true facts are occasionally difficult of development, as well as the real character of the offender.<sup>478</sup>

He finished his letter:

In even handed justice I am constrained to add that two of the Prisoners who were sent out with Rice for the same Offence, are Characters who have been in

<sup>474</sup> *HRA Series III, Vol VII*, Note 289.

<sup>475</sup> Arthur to Bathurst, 7 December 1826, *HRA Series III, Vol. VII*, p.451.

<sup>476</sup> Rudé, *Protest and Punishment*, p.244

<sup>477</sup> *GO Despatches. Outward*, iv, 30-35, and 37.

<sup>478</sup> Arthur to W Huskisson, 9 June 1828, *HRA Series III, Vol. VII*, pp 338-339, and see notes 289, 290, and 291.

every respect no less deserving in the Colony, and have laid before me in their Petition the strongest Testimonials of their good conduct both Here for many Years, as well as their respective parishes in England.<sup>479</sup>

This attempt to secure pardons failed also, but eventually Rice and his companions received their free pardons due to an apparent clerical error which, ironically, led to them being categorized as machine breakers and granted pardons on that basis in 1836.

Arthur showed a similar degree of consideration towards other protesters like George Loveless<sup>480</sup> and Francis Cunningham, an early protester who was transported for life for treason in 1818. Arthur wrote a very strong recommendation for a conditional pardon on his behalf in 1830.<sup>481</sup> Even when he was lieutenant-governor in Upper Canada, Arthur exhibited a reluctance to order the transportation of the Canadian (or McKenzie) rebels in 1838, many of whom he believed were misled souls:

Arthur hoped that in other serious cases among the rebels - ten or twenty ringleaders - transportation would suffice as 'a deterring example' and even here he was 'very, very anxious' that not one be recommended for transportation in whose favour anything can be advanced to save him and his family from the ignominy of this disgraceful punishment'.<sup>482</sup>

Even the relatively few Canadian rebels who were sent to Van Diemen's Land could thank Arthur for what little special consideration they received in the colony; it would appear that the rebels were, as much as possible, kept together and separated from the ordinary criminals as a result of Arthur's written instructions sent from Upper Canada to Lieutenant Governor Franklin.<sup>483</sup>

Generally speaking, the machine breakers were to prove worthy of Arthur's special consideration, although he kept them within the mainstream of the Assignment System. If anything, the nature of the Assignment System was advantageous to the machine breakers because of their status as experienced rural workers and mechanics on an island where such men were scarce and highly valued. A comparison has recently been drawn between these men and the quite tragic history of the eighty one Canadian rebels transported to Van Diemen's Land some seven years later.<sup>484</sup> The rebels, who were all citizens of the United States, came from a frontier economy and something like fifty six percent of them were skilled to some degree in ploughing and a full thirty percent claimed to be mechanics, including blacksmiths, carpenters and stonemasons. If dealt with under the Assignment System, their years of exile may at least have included some luxuries.

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<sup>479</sup> Ibid, p.339.

<sup>480</sup> J. Marlow, *The Tolpuddle Martyrs*, Andre Deutsch, 1972.

<sup>481</sup> Rudé, *Protest and Punishment*, p.206.

<sup>482</sup> A.G.L. Shaw, *Sir George Arthur, Bart.* MUP 1980, p.187.

<sup>483</sup> C. Pybus and H. Maxwell-Stewart, *American Citizens, British Slaves: Yankee Political Prisoners in Van Diemen's Land 1839-1850*, p. 74.

<sup>484</sup> Ibid.

Unfortunately, only the first small batch of rebels, who arrived on the *Marquis of Hastings*, were dealt with under the Assignment System and fared relatively well. By the time the *Canton* and the *Buffalo* arrived in the Derwent River, the Probation System was in place and these later arrivals were kept in work gangs for a long time, where their special skills did not provide them with the opportunity for any indulgences. Compared to the machine breakers, they suffered terribly.<sup>485</sup>

### **The Convict Experience up to the granting of tickets of leave -1831 - 1835**

The convict experience depersonalised all the machine breakers; when they disembarked from the *Eliza* and the *Proteus* they had been stripped of family, property and reputation. Their only advantages were that they carried skills and experience that were desperately needed in the colony, they were older than the average convict and this maturity enabled them to adapt more easily, and they were generally law abiding by nature. These three factors were reflected in the fact that, as a group, they stood out as very successful convicts "of exemplary character and conduct".<sup>486</sup> Shaw, in particular, described them as "a different kettle of fish" to the ordinary convicts of the time.<sup>487</sup>

In his report, which predated the arrival of the machine breakers, Bigge had recommended that the worst convicts in New South Wales be reserved for penal settlements, and the well-behaved ones should be assigned to private settlers 'by which an entire separation may be effected of the Convicts who are in a state of Punishment from a Participation in those comforts and advantages which seem to be inseparably connected with the Progress of colonization'.<sup>488</sup> Arthur had scrupulously implemented this element of Bigge's recommendations in Van Diemen's Land. Because of their generally good behaviour, most of the machine breakers were able to take advantage of the benefits of colonisation in their new colonial home and, as some of their letters showed, the comforts and advantages they enjoyed appeared to be much greater than what they had experienced back in southern England.

As individuals responding to an alien and sometimes even brutalizing system, however, their stories cover the full range of human experiences.

The feelings of the machine breakers at the beginning of their careers in the penal colony are not directly known to us. The only witness to leave an account of their arrival in Hobart Town suggests they were an even more broken and demoralized group than when they left Portsmouth. On a number of occasions in the ensuing years, Arthur had reason to comment upon the dejected state of the *Eliza* men which he noted when they first arrived in the colony. In reply to a question when appearing before the Transportation Committee, for example, he answered:

I was very much struck with the replies of the men who came out in the "*Eliza*"; they were very much affected, and I never saw men who appeared to

<sup>485</sup> Ibid, p.92.

<sup>486</sup> Rudé, Captain Swing and VDL, p17.

<sup>487</sup> A.G.L. Shaw. *Convicts and the Colonies*, London 1966, P. 229.

<sup>488</sup> Bigge Appendix, Population, etc, CO 201/130 – referred to by Shaw, *Convicts and the Colonies*, p.105.

suffer more than they did; and a great many of them were very dejected, and I am sorry to say a great many of them died.<sup>489</sup>

On an earlier occasion he wrote that the men from the *Eliza* were so miserable that it appeared to the Colonial Surgeon they "died from diseases to which they had been predisposed by despair."<sup>490</sup> Of the thirteen *Eliza* men who died during their sentences, six had died by the end of 1831, only one by a confirmed industrial accident. Of the five *Proteus* men who died, three had passed away by the end of 1831.<sup>491</sup>

Arthur took an inordinate amount of interest in the fate of the machine breakers in their early days - or at least he did in the *Eliza* men. Shortly after their arrival, he instructed the Colonial Secretary to write to the Deputy Principal Superintendent requesting a report on the general conduct of the *Eliza* men, and whether "a greater or less number of them have been punished than is usually the case with convicts with reference to the period these men have been in the colony".<sup>492</sup> The Deputy Superintendent replied on 9 July "...the convicts by that ship have behaved in a most exemplary manner since their landing and that none of those in Town have been convicted of the most trifling offence to the present day and a circumstance unprecedented in my experience of the colony".<sup>493</sup> When he received this memorandum, Arthur annotated it with instructions on 25 July to require the Colonial Surgeon to report on whether any of the *Eliza* men had been received in hospital and, if so, the causes of their complaints. He also sought a report on their conduct in hospital.<sup>494</sup> Unfortunately, the Colonial Surgeon's report is not extant. Following the arrival of the *Proteus* only two weeks later, Arthur does not appear to have demonstrated a similar interest in the conduct or welfare of these men.

There is one telling and significant piece of information that can be gleaned about the machine breakers upon their arrival in Hobart Town from their own mouths. During their initial interview upon arrival in Van Diemen's Land, each convict was required to state the nature of the offence for which he had been convicted and transported. The overwhelming majority from the *Eliza* and the *Proteus* simply stated their offence as "machine breaking" - which in a large number of cases was simply incorrect. Although most had certainly been convicted of offences relating to the breaking of paper machines, threshing machines, chaff cutting machines and even apple coring and seed drilling machines, a significant minority had instead been found guilty of acts of robbery, extortion and violence. The Hampshire labourer John Kingshott was a good example. He had been convicted of robbing Mary King, a farmer's wife, of bread, some cheese and beer, for which he was sentenced to transportation for life. Yet, following his voyage out in the *Proteus*, he stated his offence as machine breaking. Equally, the young Wiltshire ploughman John Legg had been convicted of extorting money from a farmer's wife and having obtained some beer by violence at another farm as well as taking part in the breaking of one threshing machine. Upon arrival in the *Proteus*, he only claimed to have been convicted of machine breaking.

<sup>489</sup> Report of the Transportation Committee, 1837, para 4326.

<sup>490</sup> G. Arthur, *Observations Upon Secondary Punishment*, 1833, Hobart, 1833, p.49.

<sup>491</sup> See Biographical appendix.

<sup>492</sup> CSO 1/524/11376 (p.118)

<sup>493</sup> Deputy Principal Superintendent to Colonial Secretary, 9 July 1831. *Ibid.* (p.120).

<sup>494</sup> *Ibid.*

Another Wiltshireman, Isaac Miller, had been convicted of riotous assembly, breaking windows, obtaining beer and threatening to burn a house down. Yet, on arrival in Hobart Town on the *Proteus*, he also stated his offence as machine breaking. Among many others there were Thomas Brind (robbery) and Samuel Barrett (riotous assembly), also both of Wiltshire.

Although in a number of these cases there may have been a sense of shame at having threatened violence to a woman ( an offence which, according to the records, was regarded very seriously by the Courts and Special Commissions and led invariably to a sentence of transportation for life) there may be a more general reason for this phenomenon.

For an agricultural rioter, the long trip out on the *Proteus* or the *Eliza*, surrounded almost entirely by men convicted of offences arising out of the same small number of incidents, and often from the same village, if not actually including close relatives, must have had a significant impact on their perceptions and contributed to the development of a group consciousness. This would have been much stronger than among any ordinary group of urban criminals thrown together randomly for the first time in a convict transport. If anything, the likelihood of bonding would have been stronger on the *Proteus* and the *Eliza* than the *Eleanor*, where it would appear there may not have been as many existing family links between the transportees.<sup>495</sup> The frequency with which the convicts used the term "machine breaking" to describe their crimes of a quite different nature suggests that, by the end of the voyages at least, many of these men genuinely saw themselves as members of a special class of convicts. Perhaps they even developed a greater sense of grievance at having been convicted and transported for actions which they, as a group, felt at the time were justified.

One rioter who did not succumb to the temptation to state his offence as machine breaking was the Hampshire farmer John Boyes. His convictions were for assault and obtaining five sovereigns by force from Mrs Long. When he arrived in Hobart Town on the *Eliza*, he stated his offences as "conspiring to raise wages".<sup>496</sup> This was a much more accurate description in fact, if not in law, of why he had been transported. Boyes clearly had no illusions about why he had been sent to Van Diemen's Land and his description of the offence may suggest a degree of quiet pride in his deeds during the riots. His words pre-empted those of another, much more famous, farmer cum social protester who arrived in the colony some three years later. George Loveless, who had been convicted of administering an unlawful oath, stated his offence as "I became a member of the Trade Union."<sup>497</sup>

The sense of being part of a special brotherhood of convicts would have evaporated within a few days of arrival however, because their scattering across the colony on assignment - ordinarily at the rate of one per farm- would have had made regular contact with their fellow machine breakers very difficult in the early years of assignment. Even the mechanics assigned to the Loan Gang would have ordinarily

<sup>495</sup> Townsend and Kent, *The Men of the Eleanor, 1831; A Case Study of the Hulks and Voyage to New South Wales*, p.109.

<sup>496</sup> CON 31/4

<sup>497</sup> CON 31/27

been loaned out singly rather than in groups. Therefore, the bonding and strong sense of identity would have been quickly lost as each individual machine breaker adapted to the new environment of his status as an assigned servant on a farm, surrounded in most cases by assigned convicts with an urban background. Although there were isolated instances of these men finding themselves working with their fellow rioters and occasional instances of machine breakers working on neighbouring farms, the simple fact is that most had to make their own way in the convict world, at least until they received their tickets of leave.

The one major exception to this rule were the twenty five machine breakers assigned to the Van Diemen's Land Company's estates in the north-west. The close proximity of other fellow rioters meant that their community or brotherhood could survive and perhaps even flourish. During their time on the Company's estates, there were at least two instances recorded of breakers acting in concert to assert their rights against their masters- and arguably even a third occasion when they jointly decided not to act – by declining to join a convicts' revolt on the estates in 1835.

Although it is clear that every machine breaker responded to the convict system in his own way, depending upon his individual personality and the environment he was thrust into, the overwhelming majority were model convicts - or pretty close thereto. This made them highly desirable workmen for the settlers, who frequently despaired of the urban convicts who worked on their properties. It is noteworthy that Arthur, in particular, commented on this fact. In 1833 he wrote 'were such men seen to disembark as those *Rioters* who came out by the *Eliza*, immigration would be popular'.<sup>498</sup>

This generally favourable official view was not limited to Arthur. In July 1833, the Immigration Committee that he established to look into various strategies for promoting immigration to the colony submitted its report. The Committee contrasted the quite unsuitable Chelsea pensioner emigrants with the *Eliza* men:

If such farm labourers as the Machine breakers who arrived by the *Eliza* in 1831 could be induced to come out they would constitute a most valuable accession as regards morals and Labour.<sup>499</sup>

No mention appears to have been made on either occasion of the *Proteus* men, who appear to have continued to live in the shadow of their fellow machine breakers from the earlier vessel.

In great part, this general pattern of exemplary behaviour by the machine breakers on both vessels was probably due not only to their personal character, but also to the new environment in which they found themselves - which was often better than the material existence they had left behind. The shortage of experienced agricultural workers – free or assigned – in the colony gave them a significant bargaining power, and it was not uncommon for rural convicts such as the machine breakers to be supplied with various indulgences in the form of extra food and clothing as forms of

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<sup>498</sup> Arthur to Hay, 7 September 1833 CO 280/43.

<sup>499</sup> Report of the Immigration Committee, 3 July 1833; Enclosure to Arthur to Goderich 5 July 1833.

encouragement from their masters.<sup>500</sup> Some were also paid wages. The diarist GTWB Boyes, for example, paid a wage to his assigned machine breaker even though he did not hold him in high regard.<sup>501</sup>

Arthur had written to Bathurst about this phenomenon three years before the machine breakers arrived:

The Settlers possessing large Tracts of Land have abundant food for their assigned Servants, which, by the more respectable class, are treated with great indulgence, much as house Servants are treated at Home; The consequence is that Convicts are infinitely better fed and clothed than the common Field labouring Men in England; and their abundant fare is no doubt the subject of correspondence...<sup>502</sup>

This is certainly what appears to have happened in the case of the machine breakers, although they were always quick to also point out the real punishment lay in their lack of personal liberty and separation from their loved ones. Peter Withers wrote back to his wife:

I hav got a very good place all the Bondeg I am under is to Answer [*my name*] Every Sunday Before I goes to Church so you mit Not think that I am Made a slave of for I ham Not it is quit to the Reverse of it And I have got a good Master and Mistress I have got Plenty to eate un drink as good as ever a gentilman in this Country so all the Punishment I have in this Country is the thoughts of Leaving my friends my Wife and My Dear children but I Lives in hops of seeing old England again....this is a very plentiful Country pervisions is very Cheap and labour is dear this is the Plesents Country that I ever saw.<sup>503</sup>  
[Authors's italics]

The putative Swing rioter Richard Dillingham wrote in similar terms to his parents:

As to my living I find it better than ever I expected thank God. I want for nothing in that respect. As for tea and sugar I could almost swim in it. I am allowed two pounds of sugar and quarter of a pound of tea per week and plenty of tobacco and good white bread and sometimes beef sometimes mutton sometimes pork. This I have every day.....and I want for nothing but my liberty.<sup>504</sup>

## Family Reunion Policy

<sup>500</sup> B Hindmarsh, *Scorched Earth; Contested Power and Divided Loyalties on Midlands Properties, 1820-1840*, *Tasmanian Historical Studies*, vol 6, no.2, 199, p.65. The most common forms of indulgences were tea, sugar, tobacco and spirits.

<sup>501</sup> P Chapman (ed) *The Diaries and Letters of GTWB Boyes, Vol 1, 1820-1832*, p.513.

<sup>502</sup> Arthur to Bathurst, 23 March 1827, *HRA Series III, Vol V*, p. 622.

<sup>503</sup> Withers Letters, AOT. To Mary Withers et al, dated 15 September 1833.

<sup>504</sup> R. Dillingham to his parents, 29 September 1836 H. Forster (ed) *The Dillingham-Convict-Letters*, Melbourne 1970, p.19. Forster assumes that Dillingham used the services of a professional letter writer, or perhaps those of a friend, in the colony because his own writing skills were very limited.

At the time of their trials and sentencing, many of the machine breakers had families. Clearly, the special nature of the rioters' crimes led some to believe that permission for their families to accompany the rioters to the colonies should be considered as a special indulgence, particularly if it fitted in with a colonial development policy. The Directors of the Van Diemen's Land Company, for example, had initially proposed to the Home Office that if machine breakers could be assigned to them in large numbers, then the Company would provide for their families to be sent out to the colony as well.<sup>505</sup> This was quickly rejected in favour of a proposal to provide for the assisted emigration of other labourers and their families. Equally, the Governor of Trinidad had proposed that the machine breakers should be accompanied by their families to the colony at the expense of the Government. The main reason for rejecting this common element in the proposals would have been the concern, particularly in the mind of Melbourne, that the rioters should not be seen to be rewarded for their crimes.

Some machine breakers actually took the courageous step of seeking permission for their families to go into exile with them. Frederick Page, the Deputy Lieutenant for Berkshire, made an unsuccessful special plea to Melbourne on behalf of a number of distressed wives: 'The heart rending expression of some of them, when they requested that their families might be permitted to accompany them would, I am sure, have excited great commiseration in your Lordship's mind.' He went on to stress that the rioters 'are not of the condition of ordinary felons' and that they should be permitted to be joined by their wives in order that 'a better race of colonists arise'.<sup>506</sup>

None of the machine breakers were accompanied to Van Diemen's Land on the *Proteus* or the *Eliza* by their wives and families. The only option that remained to them during their periods of assignment in the colony was to seek the permission of Arthur for their families to join them.

From 1832 onwards, some machine breakers did take advantage of the colonial government's policy of permitting wives and children of well-behaved convicts to come out to the colony on a free passage. Although it is possible to accurately determine how many applied for free passage, it is much more difficult to determine how many wives took up the opportunity to join their husbands. At least three *Proteus* men and eleven *Eliza* men applied for free passage for their families, with applications supported by their masters. It would appear that all these applications were granted but, of these, only five instances can be confirmed where the wives and children made the journey out to the colony (one *Proteus* family and four *Eliza* families). Why (possibly) so many wives were not willing to make the journey is probably due to the daunting nature of the journey that would have confronted them. Van Diemen's Land was a colony on the other side of the world, and there would have been a certain amount of trepidation on the part of these women (most of whom had never been away from their native villages) about uprooting their children and themselves from their familiar surroundings to take a dangerous and long sea voyage to join their husbands - who were still convicts. At the end of the voyage, they might find themselves in circumstances no better than what they had left. In fact, as far as

<sup>505</sup> William Mount to Home Office, 11 January 1831, PC 1/19 [AJCP 193/2]

<sup>506</sup> Page to Melbourne, 7 January 1831, PC 1/79 [AJCP 953].



the wives were concerned, they might be worse off, because they would not be able to rely on support from the village or parish relief for their survival.<sup>507</sup>

There is one historical account which incorrectly suggests that a comparatively large number of wives from one village at least may have been reunited with their husbands. Seven machine breakers from the Suffolk village of Withersfield were transported to Van Diemen's Land. John Archer erroneously wrote that six of these men were subsequently joined by their wives and children in Van Diemen's Land.<sup>508</sup> He gave as his authority for this statement a letter written by the local parish minister dated 8 February 1832.<sup>509</sup> It is possible that some of these wives may have intended, or been given permission to, come out to Van Diemen's Land but none ever did.<sup>510</sup>

Some other wives may have come out to the colony, but not at the government's expense. Parishes in Sussex appear to have been particularly willing to assist the wives of machine breakers to sail to Van Diemen's land. One woman, Maria Binstead, was reunited with her husband in Van Diemen's Land after the members of their parish of Northmundham in Sussex contributed to a public subscription to pay her passage and that of their youngest children. At least two other Sussex wives responded to the written urgings of their husbands (Stephen Smith and George Walsh) by seeking the support of their parishes for assisted passage. Their parish indicated that it would undertake the expense of their conveyance to the colony,<sup>511</sup> but it is not known whether Mary Smith and Mary Welsh, and their children, ever left England.

The machine breaker whose patience was sorely tested by the bureaucratic process during this time was the Hampshire ploughman John Kingshott - primarily because the application had been initiated in England rather than in Van Diemen's Land. Kingshott had been assigned to Mrs Ann Bridger, a land owner and publican in the New Norfolk district. On 16 April 1833, the Reverend George Godbold of Greatham Rectory, near Petersfield in Hampshire wrote to "the Lieutenant-Governor, Lieut-Colonel Morisset of Norfolk Island, Van Diemen's Land" recommending that free passage be granted to Kingshott's wife and children and referring to Mrs Bridger's willingness to provide for them. He described Kingshott as "one of those poor deluded men who joined the commotion of the Labourers in this county".<sup>512</sup> The mis-addressing of this letter of recommendation meant that Arthur did not receive it until 17 April 1834, under cover of a letter from Morisset on Norfolk Island.<sup>513</sup> He moved quickly, the same day directing Spode to report on the character of Kingshott and

<sup>507</sup> Equally surprising were the statistics for the *Eleanor*, where of seventy five married men, Rudé noted that only three applied for their wives to join them. All three applications were granted but he did not determine whether any of the wives ever journeyed to New South Wales - G Rudé, Captain Swing in New South Wales, p. 475. The recent and more comprehensive study by Kent and Townsend turned up eight *Eleanor* men who applied for their wives to join them, although the authors were only able to confirm the arrival of one rioter's wife in New South Wales; Kent and Townsend, *The Convicts of the Eleanor*, p.195.

<sup>508</sup> J. Archer, *By a Flash and a Scare - Incendiaries in East Anglia 1815-1870*, London 1999.

<sup>509</sup> Held in HO 52/20 (PRO) p. 162.

<sup>510</sup> See generally on this point K. Green, *Emigration and Transport of Rural Dissent*, MS Hobart, 1997.

<sup>511</sup> 18 April 1832, PC 1/80 [AJCP 953]

<sup>512</sup> CSO 1/377/8575, p.203.

<sup>513</sup> *Ibid*, p.201.

whether he had the means to support his family. On 3 June 1834, Spode reported favourably on Kingshott's character and enclosed a note from Mrs Bridger:

(31 May 1834) "... ever since he was assigned to me from the ship, his conduct has been highly praiseworthy and as a reward for his good conduct I will upon the arrival of his wife & family to this colony make such arrangements that will enable him to provide them a comfortable maintenance free of any expense to HM Govt."<sup>514</sup>

Subsequently, Kingshott made formal application to Arthur for his wife Mary and five children to receive free passage.<sup>515</sup> They finally arrived in Hobart Town on 20 October 1835 as steerage passengers on the female convict transport *Hector*.

It should be noted that, of the nine machine breakers whose families did not take up the offer of assisted passage out to the colony, three were eventually reunited with their families when they returned to England after receiving their free pardons – the Hampshire mechanic Thomas Gregory, the Essex ploughman William Curtis and the Wiltshire ploughman Thomas Light.

### **The Master-Assigned Servant Relationship**

Most assigned machine breakers appear to have been generally well treated by their masters and many remained with the settlers to whom they were originally assigned for their entire period of assignment. The exceptions to this rule primarily arose where the convict committed some offence warranting his removal to a road gang or to the interior. Apart from the inferences of ill-treatment that can be drawn from some of the complaints for which the rioters were themselves punished (see below) there is only one recorded instance of what can be interpreted as deliberate ill-treatment or insensitivity by a master. Oddly, it was by a man of the cloth.

John Dandridge was a 45 year old married Buckinghamshire farm labourer/paper maker. Sentenced to death for his part in the riots, this was commuted to transportation for seven years and upon arrival in Hobart Town on the *Proteus* he was assigned to the Reverend Philip Connolly, Hobart Town's first Roman Catholic chaplain. Although it was universally acknowledged that Connolly's early missionary years in the colony were full of zeal and achievement, which even attracted Arthur's approval, he had become a controversial and rather eccentric figure by the 1830's. He openly criticised members of his flock and attracted counter-allegations of indolence and neglect, as well as more ominous complaints about personal enrichment.

Although having a spotless record in England and a strong family background, Dandridge accumulated an enviable record of offences while assigned to Connolly. There is a strong likelihood that Connolly was a difficult, if not somewhat unhinged, master and he regularly complained to magistrates about Dandridge's insolence, disobedience, and refusal to work for him- which appears to have been inconsistent

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<sup>514</sup> Ibid, p.205.

<sup>515</sup> CO 280/49, p.162.

with his early background. On one memorable occasion, on December 13 1832, Connolly complained that Dandridge had been insolent to him, having said "Do what you will, I'll not go back again!", for which he received twenty five lashes. The very next day, Connolly brought him up before the magistrate again, complaining that Dandridge had refused to work for him that morning as well. The magistrate had Dandridge examined by a doctor, who provided a certificate that the unfortunate labourer was quite incapable of working at the time, because of the effects of his flagellation the previous day. The magistrate promptly dismissed the case. The relationship between the two men deteriorated even further after this incident, and Dandridge was in trouble again for insubordination at a later date, although he appears to have remained with Connolly until he received his ticket of leave in 1835. At the end of that year, Connolly was finally suspended from his pastoral duties by an exasperated Bishop Polding, who had been forced to endure too many verbal assaults and irrational displays of disrespect from the priest.<sup>516</sup>

The relationship between master and assigned servant always depended upon a range of factors - including the personalities of the characters themselves - and whereas the conflict between Dandridge and Connolly evokes an image of convict resistance and protest against a difficult master, there are other instances where the master himself may have felt cowed by his assigned servant. The best example of this was the Wiltshire ploughman William Holmes and the meek George Wilson.

The dark featured Holmes had already served nine months in prison in England for assault before he took part in the riots. Upon arrival in Hobart Town on the *Eliza*, the assignment list indicates that he was assigned to Dr Thomas Braidwood Wilson of Macquarie River.<sup>517</sup> Wilson was a former naval surgeon and author. He was well known primarily as an experienced surgeon superintendent on convict transports, having served on nine convict voyages to the colonies. His book *A Narrative of a Voyage Around the World*<sup>518</sup> contains a valuable essay on convict management. Although he had received a land grant on the Macquarie River in Van Diemen's Land, by 1831 Dr Wilson resided in New South Wales<sup>519</sup> and his grant was administered by his brother, George Wilson. George was clearly no match for Holmes. Within three months of assignment, Wilson had complained to a magistrate that Holmes had been insolent to him and disobedient at divers times - "but more particularly yesterday". Despite a short sentence of imprisonment, Holmes maintained an insolent attitude and, if anything, became more menacing. In October 1832, he was before the magistrate again for repeated disobedience of orders and gross insolence to George Wilson and his overseer, and threatening on many occasions to "do for" Wilson. On this occasion, he was imprisoned for three months, but the magistrate directed that he be returned to Wilson. Within one week of Holmes' return, Wilson had complained again to a magistrate, this time that Holmes kept him constantly in a state of fear for the safety of his person. Not surprisingly, the magistrate could not satisfy himself that an offence of such an emotional nature had been committed, but he did decide it was time Wilson was relieved of the menacing Holmes. He was sent off to the

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<sup>516</sup> ADB, vol 1.

<sup>517</sup> CON 27/7

<sup>518</sup> London 1835.

<sup>519</sup> On a property named Braidwood, which gave its name to the small township that was established nearby.

Constitution Hill Road Party, where he got into even more trouble later on.<sup>520</sup> Presumably, George Wilson was a relieved man.

Fortunately, most machine breakers and their masters fell in-between these two extreme situations, and managed to get on tolerably well with each other.

### **Conduct of the Machine Breakers During Their Colonial Servitude**

A major shortcoming of the records kept on convicts is that they overwhelmingly record the bad things that convicts do; only rarely do official records reveal other characteristics like industry, honesty, or courage. Nevertheless, within the boundaries naturally created by the colonial bureaucrat's record keeping practices, we can glean some idea of how the machine breakers responded to convictism in Van Diemen's Land.

One hundred and forty eight had spotless careers and ninety seven had only one or two convictions. Although a large number still did commit offences, often the sentence was comparatively lenient in recognition of the individual's generally good behaviour. The Sussex farm labourer William Snow, for example, was convicted of trafficking in Government clothes but was only admonished by the magistrate because he was generally well behaved. And the Berkshire carpenter/wheelwright Daniel Bates had his sentence of imprisonment personally cancelled by Arthur in consequence of his general good conduct.

As frequently noted, the machine breakers have always been regarded as an exceptional group of convicts because of their outstanding conduct records. As a general rule, rural convicts in Van Diemen's Land were better behaved than their urban counterparts – approximately twelve per cent of the inmates in Port Arthur for secondary offences between 1832 and 1853 were agricultural labourers, although it is possible they represented up to twenty per cent of the colony's convict population at times during this period.<sup>521</sup> The machine breakers bettered even this statistic, with only two per cent of their number ever being sent to the establishment. Nevertheless, a large number did commit offences. Although only seven machine breakers ever committed offences serious enough to warrant being sent to Port Arthur,<sup>522</sup> the overall statistics of disobedience were still high, including fifty cases which attracted sentences of flogging<sup>523</sup>.

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<sup>520</sup> CON 18/6

<sup>521</sup> A.G.L. Shaw, *The Convict Question*, 1966 and 1998, *Tasmanian Historical Studies*, vol 6, no.2, 1999, p.11. The result was, however, based on only a limited sample of convict records undertaken by Dece Denholm in 1971.

<sup>522</sup> Rudé, *Captain Swing and VDL*, p. 14. But note that this number includes two machine breakers who were granted pardons and subsequently committed further, much more serious crimes.

<sup>523</sup> Rudé, *Protest and Punishment*, p.179.

**TABLE 5**  
**CONVICTION RATES AMONG VDL MACHINE BREAKERS**

VESSEL	NO CONVICTIONS <sup>524</sup>	TWO OR LESS CONVICTIONS	MORE THAN TWO CONVICTIONS	TOTAL
<i>ELIZA</i>	107 (47.8%)	71 (31.7%)	46 (20.5%)	224 (100%)
<i>PROTEUS</i>	41 (42%)	26 (26.5%)	31 (31.6%)	98 (100%)

The *Proteus* men had a higher conviction rate than the men from the *Eliza* (2.15 as opposed to 1.3), but table 5 also indicates that the core percentage of well-behaved breakers on the *Proteus* was not significantly less than on the *Eliza* (42% compared to 47.8%). The *Eliza* in fact had a higher percentage of machine breakers who committed a small number of offences (31.7% compared to only 26.5% from the *Proteus*). The real difference appears to be that the *Proteus* carried a much higher number of "core" offenders - men who appeared before the Bench on more than two occasions (31.6% compared to 20.5% from the *Eliza*). The table does not take into account the severity or nature of the offence, however. This is particularly relevant with respect to the machine breakers, because many of their appearances before the Bench were for purely disciplinary-type convict offences - breaches of the Convict Regulations which would not have incurred a conviction back in England. The most common offences in this category were insubordination, insolence, refusing to work and being found in a public house.

It is also clear that on many occasions machine breakers were dealt with leniently by the courts because of their generally good behaviour as convicts, receiving admonishments or token punishments when ordinary convicts may have received harsher sentences.<sup>525</sup>

With respect to the nature of the offences committed by the machine breakers in the colony, the first point to note is that there was a certain "delayed - action" before any offences were committed at all. Although it is true that the men from the *Eliza* did not commit any offences for their first three months in the colony - a rare circumstance commented on by the Deputy Superintendent<sup>526</sup> and noted by Shaw<sup>527</sup> - many certainly made up for it in the ensuing few months. The most common offences in this first flush of disobedience in late 1831 and early 1832 were idleness, disrespect

<sup>524</sup> It is interesting to note, for comparative purposes, that 92% of the machine breakers from the *Eleanor* ended their convict careers without a single conviction; Kent and Townsend, *The Convicts of the Eleanor*, p.202. Arguably, not too much should be read into this apparent divergence in machine breaker behaviour. It merely underlines the more pervasive nature of the penal regime in Van Diemen's Land at the time, compared with conditions in New South Wales.

<sup>525</sup> See, for example, the convict records of William Snow and Daniel Bates.

<sup>526</sup> Ibid - Deputy Principal Superintendent to Colonial Secretary, 9 July 1831 (p.120).

<sup>527</sup> A.G.L. Shaw, *Convicts and the Colonies*, p.229.

or insolence - and were often alcohol related. This may suggest that, in the early weeks and months, the machine breakers were sufficiently cowed by the frighteningly new convict experience that they showed little if any resistance to it, which would be consistent with Arthur's impression of their demeanour when they arrived. Then, as their absolute fear of the System subsided, they expressed their resistance in the conventional and obvious ways.

The conviction of Thomas Grant is a simple and well-documented example.

Grant was a 29 year old ploughman from Essex. He was one of three from the same family to be convicted and transported for machine breaking and he had left behind a wife and five children. At least once before, he had shown a spark of dissent when he had previously served one month's imprisonment in Essex for insolence to a magistrate.

After a brief assignment to D. W. Gray, Grant was reassigned to the diarist G.T.W.B. Boyes, who noted in his diary-

August 10<sup>th</sup> : Grant, one of the Rioters per "*Eliza*" came assigned to me. Paid for a mattress 25/- and Wood for housekeeping 20/-Hair cutting yesterday 2/-.  
Tom dined with me.<sup>528</sup>

Boyes held no great expectations of Thomas Grant. In late October he wrote to his wife:

I don't think I ever mentioned having one of the *Rioters* assigned to my service....I don't think he will be of much use. The abundance he met with in my kitchen where the fellows sat and ate stuffed beef and pickles for two and three hours together, disagreed with the poor fellow and he has been for some time at the hospital at the point of death. He comes from some place near Colchester and has left a wife and children there - whom he never expects to see again.<sup>529</sup>

Boyes' poor opinion of Grant was confirmed when, his diary records, on 17 December he caught Grant and one of his other assigned servants draining wine from the wine pipe in his coach house.<sup>530</sup> When challenged by Boyes, Grant said he was doing nothing, but he was cradling two almost full bottles of wine in his arms. Having been caught red-handed, Grant was sentenced to six months imprisonment. Others at least got to enjoy their alcohol and were found guilty of drunkenness and being in public houses. The most common sentence for these early misdemeanours was a reprimand or being locked up at the weekends on bread and water.

The other common characteristic among the machine breakers was that, regardless of whether they first breached the regulations a few months after arriving or a year later, many who did accumulate offences did so in a relatively short period of time and then

<sup>528</sup> P Chapman (ed), *The Diaries and Letters of G.T.W.B. Boyes, Vol 1, 1820-1832*, p. 468.

<sup>529</sup> Ibid, p. 498.

<sup>530</sup> Ibid, p. 510

Convicts, and received twenty four lashes. Such incidents of obvious disrespect for the Crown were extremely rare among the machine breakers though.

On the obverse side of the coin, one interesting statistic that can be gleaned about the machine breakers is that, although they may have been outstanding convicts and generally respected the authority of the Crown, they made poor figures of authority whenever provided with the opportunity to carry out that role. In Arthur's time, employment in government service was a form of reward for meritorious service or good conduct by convicts<sup>532</sup> and it would be reasonable to expect that the machine breakers would figure strongly in the ranks of those who received government positions. This is not the case, however; only thirteen can be firmly identified as having received appointments as watchmen, constables or government messengers. This may, of course, have more to do with their greater value to the colonial administration as mechanics or agricultural labourers than their generally recognised good conduct. Almost all those who received government positions were drawn from the ranks of the agricultural labourers or, in one case, a farmer, which suggests that the generally better behaved rural mechanics were regarded as more valuably employed in the colony as skilled artisans for the settlers and the Public Works.

High standards were expected by Arthur of government appointees, and misbehaviour led to speedy dismissal.<sup>533</sup> With only two exceptions, all the machine breakers who received government appointments failed in their role to varying degrees and most were dismissed. The Sussex shoemaker John Pagden was appointed a postal messenger, but lost his position when convicted of buying meat that he knew had been stolen. The Oxford ploughman Joseph Atkins lost his position as a constable for neglect of duty when in charge of the Domain Farm, as did the Hampshire ploughman Richard Beckingham. Even John Boyes, the Hampshire farmer, was convicted of drunkenness while on duty as a watchman. The worst example was George Townsend, from Sussex. Appointed to the Territorial Police, he accumulated a small number of convictions for drunkenness, but really blotted his record by letting a prisoner whom he was escorting to Hobart get drunk. This was followed only five weeks later with allowing a handcuffed prisoner to go into a public house - and then losing him. On this occasion, he was dismissed from the Force and received twelve months hard labour. As a police constable, the Hampshireman George Webb also was convicted for taking a prisoner in his custody into a public house, but at least he did not lose him. Others had various convictions for disobedience, drunkenness and falling asleep on duty. The only two machine breakers who maintained a spotless record were the two constables Elias Kettle and David Heath(1). In the case of Heath (1), he had successfully applied for assisted passage for his wife Mary and had been joined by her shortly before he was appointed a constable. This domestic comfort may have made him a more responsible officer than the others.

Although the statistical number is not great, the eleven machine breakers who failed dismally as government officers present something of a dilemma. McQueen argued that we should not deny the machine breakers as revolutionaries simply because they were not overtly political radicals:

<sup>532</sup> Forsyth, *Governor Arthur's Convict System*, p. 58.

<sup>533</sup> *Ibid*, p.58.

This original lack of theory does not make them any the less revolutionary. It is no criticism of workers that they strike for money and not out of moral revulsion against a dehumanised society.....Failure to appreciate the mechanics of revolution has led some writers to denigrate the masses to the subordinate role of 'engines of the revolution' when in fact they are the revolution. A grasp of this point enables us to understand why men who were prepared to risk everything in England became policemen and shopkeepers, or at least acceptable members of society in Australia. The change in character does not come from a forsaking of "principles" but from the presentation of a different, and legal, means of obtaining the substantive ends espoused by those principles.

On every count, Professor Rudé has been able to find evidence of the 'social respectability' and 'high moral character' of the rioters, both in England and in Australia. The Hammonds' crown of Village Hampdens he finds really apposite.<sup>534</sup>

The simple fact is that almost ninety per cent of the rioters who were given the opportunity to hold positions of government trust or authority in Van Diemen's Land failed to use the opportunity thus described by McQueen to obtain the substantive ends espoused by those principles. When it is also acknowledged that the overwhelming majority of the machine breakers did commit offences of resistance of varying kinds and levels of seriousness while in Van Diemen's Land, there may yet be some room for an argument that, although they were not even revolutionaries of a primitive kind, as a group they still had an ingrained sense of resistance to government when they felt their natural rights had been offended. This resistance manifested itself in many different ways.

## 2. Appeal to Authority.

In contrast to the previous category, the convicts exercising this kind of protest recognized the authority of the colonial government. It occurred where a convict would complain to the various authorities if he felt his rights were being abused by his master. There were a number of examples of this among the machine breakers, who often complained to magistrates about the way they were being treated by their masters.

One form of convict protest that the machine breakers seemed to particularly engage in was to complain when their food rations - set by regulation - were not being adequately supplied. Atkinson wrote that insufficient rations was one area where convicts could actually appeal to conventional rights, set by law, and it provided them with an entitlement to take their complaints direct to the bench.<sup>535</sup> The other side of the coin, of course, was that "if a complaint failed it was open to the master to bring a counter-charge, and the complainant might be flogged merely for causing trouble".<sup>536</sup>

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<sup>534</sup> Mc Queen, *Convicts and Rebels*, p.20.

<sup>535</sup> Atkinson, p.35.

<sup>536</sup> *Ibid.*



Considering that the ramifications of an unsuccessful appeal to a magistrate were manifest to everyone, it is surprising that they were relatively common among the machine breakers and suggests a continuing belief by them in the existence of their basic rights, notwithstanding their reduced circumstances. Machine breakers did complain on a number of occasions about the food rations they were being given by their masters - and suffered accordingly. The Huntingdonshire ploughman William Colley even absconded from his master (Richard Pybus) on Bruny Island and travelled to Hobart Town to make his complaint in 1834 - but to no avail. He received fifty lashes. The Essex ploughman James Grant received fifty lashes, and the Gloucestershire ploughman Thomas Weaving twenty five lashes for similar offences. More lucky were the Essex ploughman John Pudney and the Wiltshire shepherd John Thorne who only received reprimands for the same offence. Both Weaving and Pudney, by the way, were something of rebels by nature. Weaving got into trouble for harbouring two escaped convicts on another occasion and Pudney accumulated an enviable list of convictions for insolence and refusing to work over a number of years.

On one documented occasion, treated in detail below, three machine breakers on the Van Diemen's Land Company estates successfully appealed to the authority of the colonial government to ensure they were granted tickets of leave when they feared their master, Curr, would deliberately deny them what they regarded as their rights as convicts.

There was also one less worthy appeal made to the authority of the Government which was orchestrated by a machine breaker who was apparently something of a prison barracks lawyer.

John Archer was a major land owner in the north of the colony, near Launceston. In September 1837, six of the convicts assigned to his estates directly petitioned Arthur with a complaint that Archer had consistently refused to recommend them for the granting of tickets of leave, even though they had all served longer than the prescribed qualifying period. Accordingly, they sought an indulgence directly from Arthur. After receiving their petition, the lieutenant governor wrote to Archer, inviting him to provide an explanation for this apparent set of circumstances.

In his response, Archer explained that all of the six men had very bad conduct records, and had all been convicted of a large number of offences. Most had been "bolters" at least once, and many had accumulated convictions for stealing alcohol. He saved his strongest criticism for John Ingram, an Essex ploughman and machine breaker who had come out on the *Eliza*. Ingram's original sentence had been for seven years but his colonial misconduct had led to a string of extensions to his sentence, thereby preventing him from taking advantage of the free pardon issued in 1836:

John Ingram has given me more trouble than any I ever had- he has run away - he has been flogged several times - solitary confinement - the Road Party - and at the time he is under a Colonial sentence he appears to have been (what you perhaps can understand) **the lawyer of the party**. [his emphasis]

I have only to observe that four of these men would have had other offences recorded against them but for the great inconvenience of a resident magistrate and the very general practice of sending them all either to a Road Party or the Chain Gang thereby punishing the Master more than the offender particularly as assigned servants are so difficult to be procured. This last year it cost me upward of seven hundred pounds for free and ticket of leave labour.<sup>537</sup>

Arthur ultimately rejected the convicts' petition. It is not clear when Ingram finally received his freedom although he was still an assigned servant in 1838. His final (and thirteenth) appearance as a convict before a magistrate occurred in 1858.

### **3. Withdrawal of Labour.**

There was one reported occasion on the Van Diemen's Land Company estates where a group of machine breakers "went on strike", as it were, when they felt their master was denying them their rightful New Years Day holiday from work in 1835. On separate properties, two other machine breakers also refused to work for their masters on the same holiday. See below.

### **4. Compensatory Retribution.**

This was where the convicts turned to a supplementary code of punishment of their masters for a perceived injustice. Pilfering, for example, might be engaged in as a means of supplementing their rations up to the regulated amount. This may have been common among the machine breakers but is difficult to identify on their conduct records because the recorded offences may bear no apparent relationship to the nature of the perceived wrong.

Most of the time, however, acts of rural convict disobedience based on principle, as Atkinson would categorize it, were overshadowed by the more conventional patterns of misconduct engaged in by all classes of convicts – and the machine breakers were no exception. Many of their offences were alcohol related.

### **Acts of disobedience and insolence.**

Disobedience, refusing to work, or insolence were the most common types of offences committed by the machine breakers. These incidents were virtually never associated with any act or even threat of violence, but could still regularly attract sentences of twenty five lashes for disobedience or six months on the road gang for serious examples of insolence, particularly if it had been directed towards the master's wife. The machine breakers appear to have been particularly willing to show disrespect towards their masters' wives (as evidenced by Thomas Blizzard, Edward Goble, Christopher Ponting, and David Barton- the last of whom received a twelve month sentence of imprisonment for being insubordinate to his mistress Mrs Wade) and they all suffered accordingly. It should be noted that all of these were purely convict offences, and none of them existed in England as ordinary crimes.

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<sup>537</sup> CSO 5/87/1907, John Archer to Arthur

### Alcohol related offences.

The second largest category of offences committed by machine breakers were alcohol related. They were often found drunk or caught in public houses on Saturday night in breach of the Convict Regulations. Occasionally if they managed to return to their masters' properties after a night at the alehouse without being caught, they would still come to the magistrate's attention because of their indiscretion - as happened to Edward Looker, the young Swing Letter writer who was punished for singing drunkenly in his hut when his master's family was trying to sleep.

These were common offences across all categories of convicts, not just machine breakers. Although many convicts defied or circumvented the Regulations in order to drink - as a means of escaping temporarily at least the harsh realities of a convict existence<sup>538</sup> - there was one additional factor driving the machine breaker. A traditional feature of English rural life was the intimate link between agriculture and ale. As can be seen by the part that the alehouses played as meeting places for the machine breakers at the height of the riots, the English village labourer relied heavily upon the hotel as a place of social contact. Most of the machine breakers had lived within a short walking distance of an alehouse in their small villages in southern England and frequented them on a regular basis. In Van Diemen's Land, most of them lived on their master's properties which were a long ride or walk from the nearest township. In addition, most of their fellow assigned servants were urban dwellers, without the same earthy tradition of the alehouse. The machine breaker, therefore, suffered doubly because he had only limited opportunity to enjoy the temporary relief that came from drinking alcohol and could not regularly enjoy the fraternal atmosphere of the alehouse. Perhaps not surprisingly therefore, when the machine breaker did manage on the rare occasion to successfully slip away and enjoy the colonial alehouse, he engaged in bouts of intensive drinking - a characteristic that eventually became part of the wider Australian rural scene.<sup>539</sup>

There were some more serious alcohol related offences - all of which led to severe sentences. A small number of machine breakers (no more than half a dozen) were convicted of stealing rum or wine from their masters, who were clearly not beer drinkers (see, for example, the fate of the unfortunate Thomas Grant, as well as Hurlock Crockford and John Smith). The sentence was invariably a term of imprisonment. An offence which may suggest a degree of solidarity or comradeship between convicts was that of smuggling alcohol to their fellow assigned servants and this occurred on a number of occasions. The Buckinghamshire labourer William Butler, for example, smuggled spirits into the Female Orphan School for the other servants - a crime for which he received six months in the Spring Hill Penitentiary. Another machine breaker (the Hampshire tailor William Webb) attempted to smuggle spirits to a member of the Hulk Chain Gang - a difficult task to even attempt, one would have thought. He received twenty five lashes for this act.

<sup>538</sup> A.E. Dingle, *The Truly Magnificent Thirst*, vol xix *Australian Historical Studies* 1980, p. 237

<sup>539</sup> Dingle, p.236.

## Offences of a Sexual Nature

The machine breakers committed a relatively small number of offences (no more than fifteen) involving women. Being caught out of hours, often in a public house or in a disorderly house, with an assigned female servant was the most common offence. Plying female assigned servants with alcohol was the second most common breach (see, for example, the records of Robert Lincoln, Thomas Brind, Thomas Overy, and James Lane).

It is noteworthy that none of the 322 machine breakers was ever convicted of an offence of sexual violence during their periods of assignment. The only recorded instance of a machine breaker even being charged with a serious sexual offence involved the 42 year old married Wiltshire ploughman William Munday. Shortly after receiving his ticket of leave in 1835, Munday was charged with the attempted rape of Elizabeth Piper. But the case was quickly dismissed by the Bench, it being found "to be entirely groundless, and it appearing that the prosecutrix was very drunk at the time and the defendant was seeing her home."<sup>540</sup>

There were also a small number of convictions for indecency or indecent exposure, but the very lenient punishments meted out on most occasions suggests that they were minor incidents - perhaps merely instances of convicts relieving themselves in public.

The situation with respect to Elizabeth Parker, one of the two women transported to the colony for machine breaking, was different. A former prostitute in England, she was convicted on eighteen separate occasions of offences covering drunkenness, being absent from work, assault, indecent exposure and being found in bed in a disorderly house. In May 1836, after being convicted of having been found in a public house the Bench, presumably out of desperation, ordered that she be discharged on condition she leave the district within one month. Moving the problem somewhere else did not work; a week later she was back before the same court for indecently exposing her person.<sup>541</sup> Although her sad career as a female convict may tell us much about the disadvantages that convict women laboured under at the time, her gender makes her an exceptional case among the machine breakers. The same can be said about the life of Elizabeth Studham, who was convicted of ten offences while a convict - mainly for bad language and disorderly conduct. Both these women had to wait until 1845 before they received conditional pardons and they immediately disappeared from the records of the colony.

## Abscondings

Although many machine breakers were caught in public houses, or out at night without permission, instances of machine breakers deliberately absconding were rare.

Four *Proteus* men absconded, two from their masters (William Catchpole and John Kimber) and two from road gangs, where they were already serving punishment (William Knibbs - twice- and John Smith). Five *Eliza* men absconded, three from a

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<sup>540</sup> CON 31/30.

<sup>541</sup> CON 40/7, CON 18/23

road party (Thomas Grant, John Ingram- twice-, and Samuel Seal ) and two from their masters (Richard Beckingham and John Hiscocks- twice). Hobsbawm and Rudé write that the Buckinghamshire pit sawyer Thomas Fisher (from the *Proteus*) also absconded and was never caught, but his convict records do not reflect this.<sup>542</sup>

Most of these men were caught. The typical punishment meted out to an absconder from a road gang was fifty lashes and an extension to his sentence. The Wiltshire ploughman John Hiscock was a typical example of the bolting machine breaker. Hiscock had not been in trouble with the authorities in England and he also had a wife and young child back in Wiltshire. He had first been assigned to J.M. Stephenson at Mowbray, but resisted the constraints of the convict system. Within a month of reaching Stephenson's property in 1831 he absconded but was caught and returned after serving three months imprisonment. In 1834, he absconded again and after recapture was given an additional two years on top of his original sentence. He did not receive a ticket of leave until 1838 and a certificate of freedom until 1840. Like most of the other absconders, successful and otherwise, he disappeared from history once his convict career closed.

One machine breaker - the Hampshire ploughman Thomas Harding - absconded from a chain gang in 1839 following two extensions to his original sentence and was never recaptured. Most likely, he somehow managed to effect an escape to the mainland.

As far as can be ascertained, none of the absconded breakers ever resorted to bushranging - the common form of convict disaffection in the colony.<sup>543</sup> In fact, the machine breakers appear to have been somewhat unsympathetic to bushrangers which is to be expected from a group who, despite their acts of social protest in 1830, were generally respectful of government authority. The Norfolk blacksmith James Gunton, for example, claimed to have been actively involved in tracking and capturing a bushranger - for which he eventually received a land grant.<sup>544</sup> And the Wiltshire hurdle maker Mathias Alexander was even shot at by a group of bushrangers when he tried to prevent their stealing a boat from his wharf. The Buckinghamshire labourer William Knibbs became farm manager of an estate on the north west coast and on one occasion unsuccessfully fought with one of four armed bushrangers who attacked his master's farm.<sup>545</sup> A machine breaker who achieved great fame for his bushranger tracking skills in the colony was not on the *Proteus* or the *Eliza* but arrived on the *York* in 1832. Thomas Burbury went on to become one of the colony's wealthiest and most respected landowners.<sup>546</sup>

### Working Without Permission

Then, there were a small number of machine breakers whose offences suggested a flash of independence or perhaps even entrepreneurialism.

<sup>542</sup> Hobsbawm and Rudé, *Captain Swing*, p.209.

<sup>543</sup> H. McQueen, *Convicts and Rebels*, *Labour History*, No 15, Nov 1968, p.111.

<sup>544</sup> A. Everett and B. Howroyd, "A Proteus Man" MS Hobart 1994, p. 7.

<sup>545</sup> C. Ramsey, *With the Pioneers*, Hobart, 1940.

<sup>546</sup> ADB, vol 1.

Arthur's desire for a rigidly controlled assignment system left little opportunity for a convict to make any spare money for himself, even during the few free hours permitted to him by his master or the Public Works. W.D. Forsyth noted that, in theory at least, the first of the seven classes of Public Works convicts were permitted to work for themselves each Saturday,<sup>547</sup> but there is little evidence that many of the machine breakers ever reached that status – which suggests that the privilege was rarely granted. One machine breaker who did receive the privilege was the Wiltshire carpenter/wheelwright William Cook. Unfortunately his regular bouts of drunkenness eventually led to him being deprived of the privilege of working for himself for four Saturdays.<sup>548</sup>

Penalties for working for other masters out of hours were regularly imposed on convicts<sup>549</sup> but this did not dampen the natural entrepreneurialism of some who could offer skills of value to the free settlers who could pay for them. This was particularly obvious among those machine breakers assigned to the Loan Gang. By definition, these mechanics had highly valued skills as carpenters, stonemasons, and bricklayers. A number of the machine breaker mechanics (but no agricultural labourers) were to suffer for earning money in this way. The Wiltshire stonemason Thomas Aberly, for example, worked on the loan gang and was admonished after being caught working for C Hanagan. Charles Burge, a Sussex carpenter, was twice caught purloining timber offcuts for private jobs, and once trying to take a saw away from a building site to work for his own benefit without permission. He served fourteen days imprisonment for his last effort, as did the Suffolk sawyer George Binstead for the same type of offence. The Wiltshire carpenter/joiner William Arney was caught returning from an assignment with a Public Works saw, which was seen as an attempt to perhaps use it for outside employment over the weekend but he was merely admonished. Equally lucky was the Wiltshire bricklayer/plasterer Henry Dicketts who was convicted of working for himself over a weekend. The Court, however, accepted his explanation that he was in ignorance of the Government order prohibiting such work and settled for an admonishment. The Sussex shoemaker John Pagden only avoided a sentence on a similar charge because the Court accepted that his master had turned a blind eye to his assigned servant working at the weekends for himself, but the Bench still removed Pagden from his master and re-assigned him to the interior.

### **Joint Action by Machine Breakers.**

In all the above cases, the machine breakers were acting as individuals. Their scattering across the colony to literally hundreds of masters militated against any communal or joint action, as had characterized their activities during the riots in England. There are very few recorded occasions where two machine breakers worked on the same farm or work gang. In one place, however, the concentration of breakers was high, and their story contains two examples of joint action - reminiscent of the village solidarity which had characterized their activities back in England. These were among the men appointed to the north-west estates of the Van Diemen's Land Company.

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<sup>547</sup> W.D. Forsyth, p. 85

<sup>548</sup> CON 31/7

<sup>549</sup> McKay, pp.62 and 66

### **The Machine Breaker Experience on the Van Diemen's Land Company Estates.**

The acrimony between Edward Curr and Arthur, made evident in the negotiations attendant on the assignment of the twenty five machine breakers to the Van Diemen's Land Company estates in 1831, continued throughout the period that those men worked on the estates. If anything, the unfortunate convicts became a lightning rod for that acrimony and provided opportunities for the two colonial figures to irritate each other.

Apart from the Company's insatiable desire for assigned convicts and an expectation of favoured treatment in the assignment process, there were two other areas of rub in the relationship between the Company and the Colonial Government with respect to convicts. These were the Company's practice of trying to off-load or return convicts it found unsuitable (with an expectation of receiving satisfactory replacements) and, at the other end of the process, a reluctance to lose its good convicts as a result of the granting of tickets of leave. Both were illustrated in the story of the machine breakers.

Curr was well-known for attempting to secure replacements for convicts he believed were unsatisfactory. When the *Eliza* arrived in Hobart Town, a number of the machine breakers had suffered chills as a result of the long voyage out. The health of two of those assigned to the Company - the Wiltshire ploughman William Rogers and the Hampshire farm labourer George Jenman - became even worse. In July Curr complained to Spode about their condition; but despite expressing official sympathy, the superintendent did not offer Curr any replacements:

I am very sorry that two of those last sent up are in so delicate a state of health and hope they will soon be well enough to render themselves effective. After a long voyage such as that from England to this colony, the greater proportion of those who arrive in a weak state of health, owing to the difference in climate, change of diet, etc - and the number of men who suffer in this way is in no greater proportion on the Launceston side than on this side of the Island.<sup>550</sup>

On this occasion, Curr's fears were justified; both men died of consumption by September.<sup>551</sup> Curr also feared (quite wrongly as it turned out) that a third would soon die as well.<sup>552</sup>

In 1835, Curr was to pre-empt any such rebuff to his requests for replacement convicts by forcing the issue; in the space of a few days he returned first eleven and then nine convicts whom he regarded as unfit for work and requested replacements for them. Spode wrote to the Colonial Secretary "it is evident that the Agents of that Company are picking the convict servants assigned to them, and returning the bad ones to the Government".<sup>553</sup> Spode first sent a stinging rebuke to Curr and finally an ultimatum

<sup>550</sup> Spode to Curr, VDL 14, AOT, 3 August 1831.

<sup>551</sup> Rudé, Captain Swing and VDL, p.15.

<sup>552</sup> Ibid.

<sup>553</sup> CSO 1/13/241, p.44, Spode to Colonial Secretary, 10 January 1835. None of these unsatisfactory men were machine breakers.

that the Company would receive no more assigned convicts until the rejected men were taken back.<sup>554</sup>

In general, the machine breakers assigned to the Company were hard, honest workers, and they gave little grief to Curr on that front. Only a handful attracted any official displeasure.

The Wiltshire ploughman Charles Beckley (*alias* Giddings), who in England had only received one conviction for stealing apples, seemed to attract bad fortune on the Company's estates late in his period of assignment. Three years after arriving at the Company estates, and having maintained a spotless record, he was caught drinking in a public house and received the surprisingly harsh sentence of twenty five lashes. Shortly after three of his fellow breakers received tickets of leave (see below) he was convicted of insolence and was sent to a road party for three months, where he attracted a further short sentence for idleness.

The Essex farm labourer John Hart received the lash four times for various offences while with the Company - three times for neglect of duty and once for being absent from his hut- amounting to 150 lashes in total. Two of his most serious convictions for neglect of work occurred around the same time that Beckley received his conviction for insolence. Both men's offences may in fact be attributable to annoyance or frustration at not being able to secure tickets of leave at the same time as their compatriots. Notwithstanding the frequency with which he received the lash, the Company chose to employ Hart as a labourer for a further three years after he gained his freedom in 1836, so he must have been of an industrious nature.

There was only one machine breaker who regularly engaged in challenging the Company's authority. In June 1833, the Suffolk ploughman Thomas Reed was convicted of constant neglect of duty and using profane language at all times, and was sentenced to six months imprisonment and ordered not to be returned to the Company. A few months later, while on the chain gang, he received twenty five lashes for neglect of work. In total, Reed was eventually sentenced to be flogged on six occasions - the highest number for any machine breaker.<sup>555</sup>

The conduct of another particular machine breaker assigned to the Company was guaranteed to arouse the ire of Curr and ensured that he forfeited what chance he had of securing a ticket of leave in 1835. The Wiltshire ploughman James Kimmer had been transported for seven years and maintained a relatively good conduct record, having only been reprimanded once for insolence in 1834. Ordinarily, he would have rightly been hopeful of receiving a ticket in mid 1835, like the many breakers who worked for other masters. In May 1835, however, he was caught out late at night with Curr's personal female assigned servant. He was sentenced to twelve days solitary confinement on bread and water<sup>556</sup> and what chance he had of receiving a recommendation for a ticket of leave disappeared. He was still an assigned servant when his free pardon was granted on 3 February 1836.

<sup>554</sup> Spode to Curr, VDL 14, 13 January 1835 and 12 June 1835.

<sup>555</sup> Rudé, *Protest and Punishment*, p.179.

<sup>556</sup> CON 31/26.



The distinctive feature of the machine breakers' time with the Company were their occasional episodes of joint action, suggesting a group consciousness. Apart from the heavily guarded road gangs and the penal settlements, the Company's establishments carried the largest concentrations of convicts in the colony - numbering somewhere between 100<sup>557</sup> and 120<sup>558</sup> at this time (although at least one contemporary observer believes it could have been as high as 200<sup>559</sup>). The convicts on the estates had a tradition of "clubbing together", most frequently for purposes of common criminal enterprise.<sup>560</sup> If ever the machine breakers were to show any spark of the common protest which had led to them being in the colony in the first place, it would occur on the Company's estates.

The machine breakers on the Company's estates were to manifest two of the four patterns of convict protest identified by Atkinson - denial of labour and appeal to authority.<sup>561</sup>

The first event was a minor act of resistance. In the convict world, holidays were few and often determined by the whim of their masters. But New Years Day was one holiday commonly granted to assigned servants - and it was certainly granted to those assigned to the Public Works.<sup>562</sup> Atkinson noted that Public Works timetables were often adopted as the convention for assigned rural labour as well.<sup>563</sup> On the Company establishments, however, this convention was apparently not always observed. On the morning of 1 January 1835, four of the machine breakers assigned to the Company refused to work when roused by their overseer. They were Charles Bennett, Thomas Brown, John Duke and Henry Eldridge, from the counties of Wiltshire, Suffolk, Hampshire and Gloucestershire respectively. All four men protested that New Years Day was a holiday and they could not be forced to work on it. They had spotless records until then and what drove them to this sudden act of resistance is unknown. Perhaps they assumed their common front would deter the overseer from forcing them to work; perhaps they also hoped the other machine breakers would join them.

The outcome was obvious from the start; they were all convicted by the magistrate, but only received admonishments for their offence. They were clearly acting in unison on this matter and it demonstrated that, even after three and a half years of bondage, the southern county agricultural labourers had not lost the willingness to act together in resistance, when they believed they were right. The fact that these protesters were all from different counties makes their actions even more noteworthy, because it suggests the group cohesion could only have developed once they reached the Company estates.<sup>564</sup>

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<sup>557</sup> Duxbury, p. 52.

<sup>558</sup> H. Stokes, 1964, p.59.

<sup>559</sup> J. West, *The History of Tasmania*, p. 92.

<sup>560</sup> Duxbury, p. 23.

<sup>561</sup> A. Atkinson, p. 30.

<sup>562</sup> W.D. Forsyth, pp.87/88.

<sup>563</sup> Atkinson, p.33.

<sup>564</sup> To be fair to Curr and the Company, it should be noted that in some other respects their assigned servants were provided with a degree of comfort not commonly found on rural properties. Backhouse and Walker reported to Arthur that the assigned servants' accommodation at the Circular Head estate, for example, consisted of two large cottages and they noted that the convicts 'are more comfortably

Equally, despite individual acts of protest or resistance, there is no evidence of a desire by the machine breakers to reject or overthrow the Company's authority. Punctuating the history of the Company were a number of crises when large groups of convicts acted in concert to overthrow authority on the Company's estates. Curr's fear was always that the convicts might precipitate some kind of insurrection (the most serious incidents of this kind occurring in 1826, 1835 and 1839). In particular, in January 1835, a group of convicts plunged the Circular Head settlement into a state of anarchy<sup>565</sup> and a planned major mutiny was only prevented by swift preventative action.<sup>566</sup> Significantly, none of the machine breakers took any part in this planned insurrection.

Later that year, however, three of them again took concerted action in a successful bid to circumvent the power of the Company.

By mid 1835, those machine breakers who had received sentences of seven years were eligible for tickets of leave. Most breakers with clean records got their tickets but unfortunately, those on the Company establishments faced an uphill battle. Curr had a well-known reputation for blocking convicts' efforts to get tickets of leave. His reputation had its origins in 1832 when, in a very embarrassing incident for him, a number of assigned servants had managed to send petitions direct to a police magistrate in Hobart Town.<sup>567</sup> Despite a letter of explanation being sent to the Colonial Secretary,<sup>568</sup> Curr was suspected thereafter of deliberately withholding testimony which would have secured the tickets for worthy convicts<sup>569</sup> and perhaps even exaggerating their shortcomings as a means of retaining the more skilled and valuable labourers. He was obliged to justify his actions to the Court back in England and did so by trying to shift the blame onto Arthur, arguing that some tickets had previously been granted by him "very unjustifiably" and "against my advice".<sup>570</sup>

The machine breakers would have been aware of Curr's reputation and in May 1835, three Gloucestershire ploughmen - Robert Cowley, John Hunt and William Jeff(e)ries - took a courageous step. They did not first present their testimonials to Curr, or even a police magistrate, but instead sent them directly to Spode, who immediately recommended the granting of tickets. Curr wrote a strong letter to the Colonial Secretary, protesting the actions of the convicts and Spode. It is likely he did not realise quite how transparently he was showing his hand in the letter. He wrote-

This is a deviation from the regulations of more importance than might at first appear, for though it would seem that any person in the Company's service can get thus deprived of their men without warning, yet certainly no-one but myself

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accommodated than this class of men usually are in the Colony'. Backhouse and Walker, Report of Messrs Backhouse and Walker of the Van Diemen's Land Company's Establishments, CO 280/42, Reel 255.

<sup>565</sup> Duxbury, p. 23

<sup>566</sup> Duxbury, *ibid* and p. 54, and H. Stokes, p.60.

<sup>567</sup> Duxbury, p. 52.

<sup>568</sup> Curr to Colonial Secretary, 14 December 1832, CSO 1/23/412

<sup>569</sup> Duxbury, p.22.

<sup>570</sup> Curr to Court of Directors, Despatch no 247, 22 March 1833, VDL 6.

can provide others in their places, and the Company are consequently liable to be deprived without warning of persons whose place it may be of the utmost importance to keep filled. It is so in the instance of these three men. They are at a distant establishment, the Hampshire Hills, they now comprise one third or more of its effective strength, and their sudden removal lays three ploughs idle in the midst of the season. I am deprived even of the opportunity of hiring them as I would have done, for a short time, as they get the information as soon as I do, and no doubt have left, whilst had their memorials been forwarded to me I could have provided against being left without by hiring them.

Again, the companions of these men who have complied with the Government Regulations and have not yet received their indulgences feel that those who broke through with them obtain an advantage over those who obey and this of course subjects me to odium which I have in no respect merited.<sup>571</sup>

The Colonial Secretary wrote in the margin of this letter, against the words underlined by Curr 'This is where the shoe pinches!'; he forwarded the letter on to Arthur with the annotation "I trust His Excellency will not cancel these tickets. The men deserve them and obtained them honestly, being certified by their superintendent who more immediately knew them, and who were better judges of their conduct than could be Mr Curr." Arthur took this advice and the three machine breakers retained their tickets. Notwithstanding Curr's protestations, he was in fact able to entice all three ploughmen to stay on for wages, for varying periods. The wage records of the Company disclose that Cowley and Jeff(e)ries stayed with the Company until November 1837 and Hunt stayed until the end of 1835.<sup>572</sup>

A handful of other machine breakers with spotless records who worked on the Company estates did secure their tickets in August 1835 but it appears that up to a third of them had not received their tickets by the end of the year. It is noteworthy that three of the four machine breakers who refused to work on New Year's Day, and James Kimmer, did not get tickets despite their otherwise respectable records. It suggests that Curr was still punishing these men for their perceived assaults on his authority earlier that year.

<sup>571</sup> Curr to Colonial Secretary, 9 July 1835, CSO 1/13/241, p. 55 (author's italics).

<sup>572</sup> VDL 225, Register of Wages Paid to Employees, 1828 to 1848. AOT, Volumes 4, 5 and 6.

## PART 5

### FREEDOM AND BEYOND

The first machine breaker to receive his freedom was the Hampshire farmer John Boyes. In some ways an anomaly amongst those transported on the *Proteus* and the *Eliza* because of his status as a yeoman, he equally represented the sense of fairness that led many small farmers to sympathize with, if not actually come out openly in support of, the rioters' demands.

It is not surprising that his status as a farmer would mean he received special attention. In August 1833 Lord Palmerston forwarded to Melbourne a petition signed by "near a thousand of the most respectable County voters being most of them Farmers, Merchants, Tradesmen or Gentlemen" in favour of Boyes. It was clearly an orchestrated campaign and was followed up with numerous letters of support and petitions for clemency from individual gentlemen in the county.<sup>573</sup> Palmerston wrote to Melbourne:

Pray if it is possible comply with this request. More good would be done as to public impression in the county by letting the culprit off, even if he is so guilty, than by enforcing the full penalty of the law in the face of so general an application for mercy.<sup>574</sup>

Shortly afterwards, Palmerston forwarded more supporting testimonials to Melbourne and wrote:

Could you not take an indulgent view of Boy(e)s' case on the condition for which I would be responsible that there should be no other Hampshire men with any claim to mercy - the poor Devil has been pretty well punished, for besides his Transportation he has lost a little Property he had & which has been forfeited by his becoming a convicted felon.<sup>575</sup>

The petitions were successful and instructions were sent to Arthur that Boyes was to receive a free pardon at the expiration of four years from the date of his conviction, provided his conduct in the meantime had been good.<sup>576</sup> On 18 July 1834, Arthur wrote back to advise that Boyes had been told of the decision "and to state that his general conduct from the time of his arrival here has been very good".<sup>577</sup> Boyes received his free pardon on 15 December 1835. He came to the colony in 1831 with his return fare already in his pocket and promptly returned to England after receiving his freedom. Rudé, by the way, incorrectly records Boyes as remaining in the colony and being the licensee of the Hogs Head Inn in Melville Street in Hobart from 1839 to

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<sup>573</sup> J Chambers, *Hampshire Machine Breakers*, p. 160 et seq.

<sup>574</sup> PRO HO 17/41, Folio 8

<sup>575</sup> J. Chambers, *Hampshire Machine Breakers*, p. 160.

<sup>576</sup> GO 33/17 Despatch No 23 of 16 October 1833.

<sup>577</sup> GO3317, Despatch No 39, 18 July 1834.

1853.<sup>578</sup> This other John Boyes was in fact a merchant and friend of the diarist G T W B. Boyes (no relation).<sup>579</sup>

Most of the machine breakers who were serving seven year sentences and who had not accumulated serious records of convictions whilst in the colony received their tickets of leave from mid 1835 onwards. There were two exceptions to this rule; the first was the Wiltshire ploughman Samuel Harford, who received an early ticket in April 1834 as reward for rescuing a young child who had fallen into a quarry hole full of water behind the Old Penitentiary in Hobart Town.<sup>580</sup> The second was William Hayter, a Wiltshire farm labourer who had originally been assigned to the Van Diemen's Land Company but by 1833 was in the Public Works. For reasons that are not clear, apart from his spotless record as a convict, he received an early ticket in October 1834.<sup>581</sup> Sadly, he did not live long to enjoy it, dying in June 1835. It is quite possible that Hayter was the sickly machine breaker whom Curr advised Spode he feared would die quite soon of consumption.<sup>582</sup> Curr may have managed to return the ailing Wiltshireman to the Superintendent of Convicts in expectation of receiving a healthy assigned servant in return.

The receipt of a ticket of leave could actually work against a convict's interests, in that he was immediately required to find his own employment. But this did not appear to a problem for the majority of the machine breakers. Their agricultural and artisan skills stood them in good stead in the colony's labour market and most appear to have secured employment very quickly. It is quite likely that many of them continued working for their old masters, but this time for wages. The Van Diemen's Land Company, for example, continued to employ thirteen of the twenty four breakers who were still on their books at the various times they received their tickets (including eight of the ten Gloucestershiremen). Some stayed for up to three years, although most only stayed for another year until they received their full pardons.<sup>583</sup> Equally, among the settlers who pioneered the establishment of Port Philip in 1836 and 1837, we find some who took machine breakers with them – often men who had first been assigned to them as convicts some years earlier. This suggests they retained these men after they received their tickets by offering them employment for the ensuing year. It is quite likely this pattern was repeated around the island in the case of many of the other machine breakers when they received their tickets of leave.

There were a small handful who struggled to find work and so resorted to petty crime, such as the Gloucestershire ploughman Edward Musto who was convicted of pilfering and sentenced to the road gang. He also had his ticket suspended but he represented the very rare exception among the machine breakers.

Having gained their tickets of leave, it was then a matter of persevering until the machine breakers had worked out the rest of their sentences in the colony - or received an early pardon.

<sup>578</sup> Rudé, *Protest and Punishment*, p. 209.

<sup>579</sup> P Chapman (ed), *The Diaries and Letters of GTWB Boyes*, p.317n.

<sup>580</sup> CO 283/5, p276.

<sup>581</sup> CO 283/5, p. 805., also referred to in Chambers, *ibid*.

<sup>582</sup> Rudé, *Captain Swing and VDL*, p.15.

<sup>583</sup> VDL 225. Pay Records for VDL Co, AOT.

There was never a formal movement or general campaign in England to have the machine breakers pardoned for their crimes; only Hunt maintained a steady but apparently unsuccessful call for their release in Parliament. What little official sympathy was shown for their plight appears to have been directed towards approving the occasional requests for their families to join them in the colony, and giving relief to someone like John Boyes, whose higher status as a yeoman meant he could be treated with some leniency by the Government.

Although not represented by a documented debate, it is clear that the popular groundswell of protest against the transportation of the Tolpuddle Martyrs in 1834, which culminated in their early return to England, led the Government to also reconsider the fate of the machine breakers.<sup>584</sup> Lord John Russell succeeded Melbourne at the Home Office on 18 April 1835 and he considered himself a reformer, having strong views about the need to reform Transportation in particular.<sup>585</sup> On 25 June 1835 Russell rose in the House of Commons to announce his proposal to grant conditional pardons to the six Tolpuddle Martyrs (but with stringent conditions to apply to the Loveless brothers). On 8 July 1835 Glenelg wrote to Bourke and Arthur advising them of the pardons for the Martyrs.<sup>586</sup> On 1 August 1835 Russell announced that 264 of the men transported for their involvement in the Swing riots were also to be pardoned<sup>587</sup> and on 7 August 1835, Glenelg forwarded to Arthur a list of 246 machine breakers transported to Van Diemen's Land who were to have the benefit of the free pardons, except in the case of those who were undergoing separate punishments for offences committed since arriving in the colony.<sup>588</sup> Convicts such as the Tolpuddle Martyrs or the machine breakers, who could be characterised as social or political protesters, were typically more likely to be granted free pardons by the Home Government so they could return to England rather than conditional pardons which limited their freedom to the colonies.<sup>589</sup>

The named men (apart from four who had already died) were nearly all serving sentences of seven years, which meant that the *Eliza* men figured slightly more prominently on a proportional (as well as numerical) basis in the list - 178 from the *Eliza* (representing 79.5% of the men from that vessel) and sixty eight from the *Proteus* (amounting to 69.4% of its consignment).

On 28 January 1836, Arthur advised Glenelg that pardons had been issued to the convicts with the exception of ten who were undergoing further sentences.<sup>590</sup> Uncharacteristically, Arthur did not take the opportunity to make any observations on the general conduct of the machine breakers during their time as convicts in the colony. He did so in the case of individuals like Boyes and Loveless, and had clearly

<sup>584</sup> Hobsbawm and Rudé, *Captain Swing*, p.273. For a recent re-affirmation of this conclusion, see also Kent and Townsend, *Convicts of the Eleanor*, p.195.

<sup>585</sup> J Ritchie, Towards an Unclean Thing; The Molesworth Committee and the Abolition of Transportation to NSW 1837-1840, *Historical Studies*, vol 17, No. 67, p.144 at 144 and 145.

<sup>586</sup> Although it was to be another four months before further lobbying and debate led to all the Martyrs being provided with similar conditional pardons.

<sup>587</sup> Rudé, *Captain Swing in New South Wales*, p. 477.

<sup>588</sup> CO 408/12, Despatch No 38, Glenelg to Arthur, 7 August 1835.

<sup>589</sup> Rudé, *Protest and Punishment*, p. 174

<sup>590</sup> GO 33/21, p.553. Arthur to Glenelg, 28 January, 1836.

shown an interest in the conduct of the *Eliza* men at least during their early days in the colony. Perhaps the fact that, even though their general conduct surpassed that of the ordinary convicts, a sufficient number had accumulated convictions for various offences of protest in the colony now made him reluctant to do so.

A few weeks after forwarding instructions to Arthur for the granting of freedom to most of the machine breakers, Glenelg had obviously turned his mind to the question of the claims of the Van Diemen's Land Company and he wrote again-

...it has occurred to me that serious inconvenience may arise to the Van Diemen's Land Company from the sudden withdrawal of so many servants...I cannot but feel that the Government are bound to adhere as closely as possible to the original agreement ... I accordingly authorize you to assign to the company, from amongst the convicts who will be transported by the vessel which bears this Despatch<sup>591</sup> or from the first subsequent importation, an equal number of servants of a description corresponding as nearly as possible to those who will be withdrawn from them.<sup>592</sup>

On 29 January 1836, Arthur wrote to Glenelg to advise him that instructions had been given for the assignment of another eleven convicts to the Van Diemen's Land Company, to replace those who had been granted their freedom.<sup>593</sup> This was a stroke of undeserved good fortune for the Company; it meant they received replacements for machine breakers who had won their tickets of leave up to seven months earlier and who had either left the company or were being retained on wages.

This first round of free pardons for machine breakers were gazetted on 3 February 1836. A majority of those who had received terms of fourteen years or life, as well as a few seven year transportees not picked up on the earlier list, received their pardons under a second advice sent to Arthur by Glenelg on 1 October 1836,<sup>594</sup> which became effective on 24 April 1837.

The bureaucratic system was not perfect however, and mistakes were made in respect of those lists sent to New South Wales and Van Diemen's Land - with significant consequences for some unfortunates.

Three days after Glenelg wrote to Arthur with instructions for the pardoning of 246 *Proteus* and *Eliza* machine breakers, instructions were sent to Governor Gipps in New South Wales for the immediate freeing of eighteen machine breakers in that colony with sentences of seven years who had arrived on the *Eleanor*.<sup>595</sup> Glenelg's letter also referred to the total number of machine breakers in the colony to be ultimately pardoned as being 264.

<sup>591</sup> The vessel was the convict transport *Layton*.

<sup>592</sup> CO 408/12, Despatch No 44, Glenelg to Arthur, 26 August 1835.

<sup>593</sup> GO 33/21, p.626, Despatch No 17, Arthur to Glenelg, 29 January 1836.

<sup>594</sup> GO 1/24, Despatch No 36, Glenelg to Arthur, 10 October 1836.

<sup>595</sup> Hobsbawm and Rudé, p.273, and Rudé, Captain Swing in NSW, p. 477.

Bemused for a number of reasons, Gipps wrote back to Glenelg:

There has been some mistake in the Despatch No 37 of 10<sup>th</sup> August 1835. It alludes to the Prisoners transported in 1830 and 1831 for Machine Breaking, but encloses a Warrant for Eighteen Men transported in 1820 for High Treason. It looks as if a Blank had been left in the Despatch for the number of convicts to be pardoned and afterwards filled in by a wrong Number, and that a Warrant was enclosed different from that originally intended. This Despatch probably should have forwarded the Warrant for the two Hundred and sixty four Men alluded to in that of 19<sup>th</sup> November, 1837, no. 19, and the Warrant received in it ought to have accompanied a Separate Despatch.<sup>596</sup>

The reference to the 264 machine breakers in the colony also needed clarification:

It is not known at Hyde Park Barracks that any others have been transported to New South Wales for machine breaking. Taking the number of One hundred and thirty three who arrived on the 'Eleanor' from the number mentioned as being pardoned by the Missing Warrant (of 264), there will still be One Hundred and thirty one to be set at liberty, whose Names are not known here; but yet so great a Number could hardly have been transported for machine breaking without its being known a the Principal Superintendent of Convict's Office.<sup>597</sup>

Gipps' confusion speaks volumes about the difficulties of managing a complex human system so far from the convicts themselves-

"...although [*these eighteen men*] singled out in this way to be freed earlier than their companions, they proved in practice to be less favoured than the majority. By some fantastic bureaucratic oversight, the warrants for their release were left blank, and from the confused and shame-faced correspondence relating to the affair it would seem that by the time they reached the colony there had been added to them, presumably in one or other of the offices in Downing Street or Whitehall, the names of eighteen men who had been sentenced to death for high treason in 1820 - and had, incidentally, been transported not to Sydney but to Hobart! In consequence, these unfortunates, far from benefiting from an early reprieve, had at first to satisfy themselves with tickets of leave...and, omitted from the general pardons extended to their fellows, obtained their certificates of freedom (most of them by servitude) at various dates between 1837 and 1846, several having petitioned the Colonial Office in the meantime.<sup>598</sup> [Author's italics]

The eighteen men transported to Van Diemen's Land for high treason in 1820 and who ultimately benefited from this bureaucratic error were the Yorkshire Weavers, whom Arthur had first tried to assist shortly after he arrived in the colony because of their generally exemplary conduct.<sup>599</sup> The reference to 264 machine breakers in

<sup>596</sup> Gipps to Lord Glenelg, 24 November 1838, *HRA, Series I, Vol XLIX*, p.686

<sup>597</sup> Ibid

<sup>598</sup> Rudé, *Captain Swing in NSW*. p 477.

<sup>599</sup> Rudé, *Protest and Punishment*, pp 206 - 208.



Glenelg's correspondence was clearly a reference to the 264 convicts to be pardoned in total across the two colonies (246 in Van Diemen's Land and eighteen in New South Wales).

The free pardons came none too soon for some assigned machine breakers in Van Diemen's Land who after more than five years were reaching the limits of their good behaviour. The Norfolk ploughman Robert Lincoln, for example, was having a rough time with his new master Mr Hodgson who had recently brought complaints against him on two occasions. The first was dismissed by the magistrate but the second, of indecent language and falsely accusing a fellow servant of an unnatural offence, led to a conviction and sentence being passed - on the significant date of 3 February 1836 - of fourteen days confinement on bread and water, and to be returned to the Government thereafter. Fortunately the gazettal of his free pardon took effect on 3 February,<sup>600</sup> which meant that after he served his fourteen days, he was a free man. Lincoln appears to have thereafter fairly quickly seduced Hodgson's sixteen year old daughter Mary Ann, and married her on 5 September 1836. Their child was baptised on 13 January 1837. Perhaps the complaints brought by Hodgson senior in early 1836 had been a strategy on his part to remove the amorous assigned servant from his farm and his daughter.

Apart from those machine breakers serving further terms of imprisonment for offences committed in the colony, there were still forty two men from the *Proteus* and the *Eliza* who appeared to have been forgotten by London - for no apparent reason. None of those men, for example, had a reputation as radicals back in England, nor had they proved to be stormy petrels in the colony. Rudé made the point that these "forgotten" men represented nearly all those longer term prisoners who hailed from the three counties of Suffolk, Norfolk and Buckinghamshire, which suggests that they may have been overlooked simply because their names were on separate sheets of paper that had been mislaid.<sup>601</sup> On 5 July 1837, the new Lieutenant Governor Franklin wrote to Glenelg, bringing his attention to the plight of these men.<sup>602</sup> The speed with which Glenelg responded after receiving this letter supports the view that they had simply slipped out of the Colonial Office's view and been forgotten. On 8 November 1837, pardon warrants for the balance of the machine breakers were forwarded to Franklin by Glenelg,<sup>603</sup> although the pardon warrants were expressed as being subject to a condition that during the balance of the term of their original sentences, they were required to continue to reside in Van Diemen's Land. The reason for issuing the last machine breakers with pardons carrying such a condition is not apparent.

### **The Ultimate Fate of the *Proteus* and *Eliza* Machine Breakers**

The conventionally accepted wisdom, with Rudé as its champion, has been that "it is almost certain that the great majority [of machine breakers] lived out their lives as

<sup>600</sup> *Hobart Town Gazette*, 5 February 1836.

<sup>601</sup> Rudé, *Captain Swing and VDL*, p.18.

<sup>602</sup> GO 33/26, Despatch No 74, Franklin to Glenelg, 5 July 1837.

<sup>603</sup> GO 1/27, Despatch No 207, Glenelg to Franklin, 8 November 1837.

farmers and tradesmen, craftsmen, stockmen or labourers on the island.”<sup>604</sup> The truth is, in fact, much more complex.

The 304 machine breakers still alive at the various times their pardons were gazetted went on to cover almost the full range of human achievements and failings in their later lives. The only area where they failed to make any kind of impact was in colonial politics, which is not surprising. Apart from the fact that their status as emancipists would have militated against any such interest, the simple fact is that there was really nothing in the backgrounds of those men who remained in the colonies to suggest they were ever politically motivated. The only machine breakers transported to the colony who were regarded as openly political during the riots were Thomas Goddard and John Boyes, and they returned to England - apparently never to take any part in politics again.

In broad overview, no more than 150 of the machine breakers from the *Proteus* and the *Eliza* remained in the colony for the rest of their lives. Of the other 150-odd, at least thirty four, and possibly as many as forty or fifty, returned to England - the majority sailing within the first two or three years after receiving their freedom. The balance left Van Diemen's Land for the other colonies in three major waves - shortly after the issue of their free pardons in 1836/1837, during the severe depression of 1840, and during the 1851 Victorian Gold Rush.

Two themes consistently re-occur in the story of the machine breakers following their freedom. They are the closeness of the links these men kept with each other, and the large number of family reunions which took place. The village-based nature of the riots meant that many members of the same families were transported and, if not related, then many of the machine breakers had at least known each other since childhood. These family and village links continued to exert an influence after emancipation. If anything, the freedom to travel and search out their relatives and old friends now meant that those links were re-forged and strengthened - the 'ramifying web of kinship'<sup>605</sup> having stood the test of time.

The family and village links were just as apparent in the stories of those who left the colony as those who remained. There are a number of instances, for example, of machine breakers acting as witnesses at each other's weddings in Port Phillip, or of sailing to Port Phillip - or even England - together. In both Van Diemen's Land and Port Phillip there were instances of machine breakers working farms together or of one employing the other. There are also instances of the daughter of one machine breaker marrying the son of another, and even at least one occasion when the granddaughter of one married the grandson of another. There is at least one family in Tasmania today which carries three *Eliza* men in its family tree.<sup>606</sup>

<sup>604</sup> Rudé, Captain Swing and VDL, p. 19. See also, Rudé, *Protest and Punishment*, p.209, and Hobsbawm and Rudé, *Captain Swing*, P.276. Similar conclusions are drawn by Rudé in respect of the *Eleanor* men in NSW - see Rudé, Captain Swing in NSW, pp. 479/480.

<sup>605</sup> H Reynolds, foreward to C Pybus, *Community of Thieves*, Heinemann Melbourne, 1991

<sup>606</sup> The Parsons family of Sandy Bay, which includes among its ancestors Arthur Hillier, William Snook(e) and William Wadley; all from the *Eliza*.

On many occasions, the intricate web of relationships between the machine breakers were held together by apparently random strands. A simple example was the third generation link between John Kingshott and Thomas Mackrell. Mackrell was a Berkshire machine breaker who had been transported to New South Wales on the *Eleanor*. After he received a free pardon, Mackrell returned to England and then brought his family out to Van Diemen's Land as assisted emigrants in 1842. Mackrell became a successful farmer in what is now the Lenah Valley area near Hobart and in 1855 he sponsored the emigration to the colony from Berkshire of two of his daughters and their families. One of the daughters settled in New Norfolk and her daughter married a grandson of John Kingshott.<sup>607</sup>

The most intriguing connection, however, occurs between the third generations of machine breakers who settled in the north of the colony and the children of families who came out to the colony as assisted emigrants, courtesy of the Launceston Immigration Aid Society.

The Aid Society was formed at a meeting held in the office of John West, the editor of the *Launceston Examiner*, in November 1853. Money was raised by subscription and supplemented by a government bounty to provide free passage for emigrants to the colony. All 1000 emigrants brought out to the colony were from East Anglia and they mostly settled in and around Launceston. Grandchildren of at least seven machine breakers married Aid Society immigrants. Only one descendant of an East Anglian machine breaker (William Aggers) appears to have married an Aid Society immigrant, so it is unlikely the emigration scheme was being used as a vehicle for reinforcing village or county based associations maintained over two generations by correspondence between Van Diemen's Land and East Anglia. Equally, however, there are enticing coincidences which make one wonder whether the marriages that did occur could be seen as evidence of machine breaker families continuing to maintain links over a number of generations. Three children of one emigrating couple off the *Whirlwind*, for example, (Thomas and Mary Ann Jessop) married the descendants of three machine breakers (William Wadley, John East and Arthur Hillier). Also, Ann Leonard (from the *Southern Star*) married a son of Arthur Hillier and her younger brother Charles married a granddaughter of Arthur Hillier and William Wadley. To complete the circle, another granddaughter of Hillier and Wadley (Edith Wadley) married another Aid Society immigrant from the *Southern Eagle*.<sup>608</sup>

Machine breakers who had been transported with family members would also re-unite once their sentences had been served and there are several examples of brothers, or fathers and sons, going into business together, either in Van Diemen's Land or elsewhere. There are also stories of siblings or children sailing out from England to join their fathers or brothers on their properties or in their businesses. Presumably these people would have come out to the colonies at the beckoning of their relatives, taking part in the phenomenon known as chain migration. Sadly, there are very few instances of machine breakers' wives travelling out to the colony, even after 1836.

<sup>607</sup> Matilda Brooker married William Kingshott in 1863.

<sup>608</sup> All these marriages are outlined in K. Green, *Transportation of Rural Dissent*, MS Hobart 1997.

There were also a few instances where a machine breaker became re-united with a son, daughter or brother who had been transported, either before or after the riots, for other crimes – usually the stealing of food.

These family and village-based networks were often used as a means of passing information about fellow villagers and lost relatives between Van Diemen's Land and the southern counties of England for many years. In 1852, for example, Elizabeth Martin wrote from Tisbury in Wiltshire to her machine breaker brother Thomas Vinen in New Norfolk to let him know how John and Samuel Grant – two machine breakers from Tisbury – fared upon their return to the village. And in 1850, James Batt wrote from Van Diemen's Land to his daughter Caroline in Barton Stacey to let her know that the machine breaker John Dore and his family had left the colony for Port Phillip.

Through their letters, they would also keep up with more commonplace events occurring in their former villages. Thomas Vinen and Thomas Abery were both from the small Wiltshire village of Tisbury, for example, and they both came out on the *Proteus*. Vinen once wrote a letter to his family in Tisbury and mentioned how Abery was getting on. The message was duly passed on to Abery's brother, and Vinen's sister wrote back from England:

Martin...was happy to hear that Thomas Ebery was well please to give his best respects to him when you see him and tell him that our old landlady Mrs Snow is dead...<sup>609</sup>

The frequency of the reunions and the durability of the original village links as seen through their correspondence and marriages were a distinctive feature of the story of the machine breakers after they gained their freedom.

### **Those Who Remained in the Colony**

Robson has noted that, compared to the New South Wales experience, the restricted opportunities offered in the smaller colony of Van Diemen's Land meant that few emancipists became wealthy or ever enjoyed very much success in the colony.<sup>610</sup> The machine breakers were an industrious group, however, and many of those who remained in Van Diemen's Land did become financially comfortable, with a handful becoming quite wealthy by the time they reached old age. Many of those who did not achieve any degree of material wealth at least had the satisfaction of being regarded as respectable, worthy members of their local communities.

Not surprisingly, many emancipated machine breakers continued to work as agricultural labourers for a few years after they received their freedom - often for their original master. Then, typically, they would lease a small farm in the district where they had served out their assignment. Sometimes they would go into partnership with one of their fellow rioters when establishing a small farm or perhaps they would share

<sup>609</sup> Elizabeth Martin to Thomas Vinen, 24 July 1849. Letters held by Alan Vinen, Melbourne.

<sup>610</sup> L. Robson, *The Convict Settlers of Australia*, p. 99.

servants, as happened with the Huntingdonshire and Suffolk ploughmen William Horner and James Everett, who farmed in the Jerusalem district.

There is no doubt that, until a depression gripped the colony in early 1840, work was relatively plentiful in Van Diemen's Land and the machine breakers could do well for themselves. In 1838, Richard Dillingham wrote to his parents:

I am happy to hear you were all doing well with the exception of my sister Betsy and her husband. I wish they were here they might do well for their [*sic*] is no want of employment in this country... Give my best love to all my dear brothers and sisters and also to my poor dear old grandfather and tell him not to grieve on my account for I am doing much better than many labouring men in England.<sup>611</sup>

Over time the machine breakers who took to farming or pastoralism built up their properties, often into quite large acreages. Apart from those mechanics who established themselves in their old trades, a common business for machine breakers to establish (if they did not go into pastoralism or farming) was as a carrier, usually starting with a single horse and dray.

A common feature of the wealth creation process for those machine breakers who did succeed in the colony- whether their first step had been into farming, a trade or the cartage business- was their subsequent entry into the brewing business or the public house trade. This link with the hotel trade by the more successful machine breakers also appears frequently amongst those who sailed to Port Phillip and made their fortunes. The public house and brewery trades appear to be well trod routes to financial success for emancipists in all the colonies. Robson touches on this phenomenon in his research; of the six successful emancipists in New South Wales for whom he gives relatively detailed biographies, four were brewers, public house licensees or both at some stage in their careers.<sup>612</sup> These results are reflected in the careers of the machine breakers from Van Diemen's Land.

A few short biographies taken from the Appendix to this thesis will illustrate the various facets of the machine breaker experiences, as described above.

### **William North**

Upon arrival in Van Diemen's Land, the Wiltshire ploughman William North had been assigned to Alexander Reid in Bothwell and remained with him until he received his ticket of leave. By 1840, he was sharing a small farm in the district with Robert Blake, a fellow Wiltshire machine breaker (and a shoemaker by trade), and John Bowden, whose father was a local emancipist. Blake married Bowden's sister shortly after receiving his ticket of leave in 1835. In 1836, North married John's other sister, Sarah Bowden. They eventually had two children.

In 1845, North became licensee of the Cape of Good Hope Inn, near Oatlands. Six years later, he purchased his father-in-law's old property, the 400 acre "Grantham"

<sup>611</sup> Richard Dillingham to his parents, 4 October 1838, H Forster (ed), *The Dillingham Convict Letters*, p.22 et seq.

<sup>612</sup> L. Robson, pp. 102-105.

near Bothwell for 725 pounds, paying almost 200 pounds as a deposit. In 1852, he sailed to Melbourne with John Bowden and they headed for the goldfields. After some success, they returned to Bothwell. North was now sufficiently wealthy to send five small nuggets of gold worth ten pounds to his brother Charles in England to help his parents and siblings. By 1860, he also owned another small acreage near Grantham. North died in 1864, aged sixty four years. One of his close relatives who accompanied him as a machine breaker on the *Eliza* - Samuel North - married and settled in the Evandale area, where at one stage he was working 637 acres of prime agricultural and pastoral land.

### **Robert Blake**

Robert Blake's career was almost as impressive. By 1848, he was living in a brick farmhouse in the Bothwell district with thirty acres. He also went to the Victorian goldfields, with Edward Bowden and two other partners. A family history records that the four partners netted 1000 pounds apiece for their ten months work at Castlemaine.<sup>613</sup> Blake also ultimately returned to Bothwell and invested in property. By 1861, the year of his death, he owned at least three houses in the township in addition to his own. In total, he owned seven houses at that time. Two of his sons later became successful brewers and carriers.

### **William Dove**

Another successful machine breaker was the Norfolk ploughman William Dove, who had received a free pardon in February 1836. In March 1838, at New Town, he married Sarah Ann Stanhope, the daughter of an emancipated convict. The witnesses to the marriage were a fellow machine breaker, the Oxfordshire wheelwright/carpenter, Joseph Fisher and Sarah's sister, Rosanna. (In 1842, when Joseph and Rosanna married, the Doves reciprocated as witnesses). In 1839, Dove bought the Scotch Thistle Hotel in Liverpool Street, Hobart for 500 pounds and remained licensee of the hotel until 1853. He sold it for 1410 pounds that year.<sup>614</sup> By 1855, he owned a number of properties in Hobart Town, but his greatest purchase was the country mansion and property of Oakwood, still standing by the Midlands Highway at Mangalore, for 3250 pounds in 1860. He died in 1866, a very wealthy man.

There were a few machine breakers who chose to strike out on their own and make their fortune in the recently opened up areas of the north-west of the island, where new land was being made available. The most successful and deserving of the title "pioneers" among these men were the two brothers Joseph and Matthias Alexander.

### **Joseph and Matthias Alexander**

The Alexander brothers were from the village of Ramsbury in Wiltshire. Joseph, the elder, was a carpenter/wheelwright who spent his period of assignment with the Public Works Department. Matthias was a hurdle maker who had been sent to the Van Diemen's Land Company estates in the north-west. After receiving their freedom in 1836, the brothers worked in the north of the colony, on the Wickford Estate near

<sup>613</sup> D. Milne, *Milne Family History*, MS Victoria, 1998.

<sup>614</sup> Lands Department Books 2 and 3, Items 2332 and 9819, AOT

Longford for the next few years.<sup>615</sup> Their younger brother John, who had been transported to Van Diemen's Land for stealing ducks, received his freedom in 1846 and headed for the California goldfields. John later panned in the Victorian goldfields and, when he returned in late 1850, brought back a sizeable amount of money which financed the three brothers' expedition to the colony's north-west. They trekked into the heavily forested area around Table Cape and became the first settlers in the district, on the west bank of the Inglis River. They called their settlement "Alexandria" and quickly developed it. Their first fortune was made in cutting and milling the magnificent stands of timber in the thickly wooded hills reaching down to the water's edge, much of which was shipped directly to Port Phillip from a wharf the brothers constructed. They built an entire settlement, which included an inn, general store, draper's shop, and blacksmith's shop. Later they turned to farming and built their own trading vessel, the *Alexander*, which transported timber and potatoes direct to Sydney and Melbourne. At various times, the brothers were associated with three different inns in the district.

With the growth in the numbers of settlers flocking to the district opened up by the Alexander brothers, the township of Wynyard sprung up on the east bank directly opposite Alexandria and eventually overtook it, but the brothers are acknowledged as the pioneers of the district.<sup>616</sup> Frederick Alexander, the inventor of 'the Alexander Method' for correct body posture was Matthias' grandson. As a young, theatrically minded clerk at the Mt Bischoff mine on the west coast of Tasmania, he often recited ballads to the unionist miners at the local theatre.<sup>617</sup> Perhaps some of these ballads were further echoes of struggle of the labouring man.

### **Thomas Burbury**

One machine breaker who became very wealthy in the colony, was not transported on the *Proteus* or the *Eliza*. Thomas Burbury arrived on the *York* in 1832 and was followed by his wife and daughter early the next year. He was appointed a constable in Oatlands and proved to be an enthusiastic and expert tracker of sheep-stealers and bushrangers. Until he received a free pardon in 1839, he acquired land in his wife's name, and later established a butchery and large holding paddocks for stock in Oatlands, as well as acquiring or leasing more pastoral land for his herds in his own name. He is the only machine breaker who can confidently be identified as having become involved in politics of any kind in the colony- being elected to the Oatlands Municipal Council in January 1862.<sup>618</sup>

These stories relate to some of the more successful machine breakers who remained in the colony. There were many others who did not reach such heights but did establish themselves as respected members of their communities. Four simple examples taken from the Appendix to this thesis are James Gunton, John Tongs, John Kingshott and Joseph Fisher.

<sup>615</sup> K. Pink, *And Wealth For Toil: A History of North-West and Western Tasmania 1825-1900*, Advocate Marketing, Burnie, 1990, p. 274.

<sup>616</sup> Ibid, p.274..

<sup>617</sup> ADB, vol. 7.

<sup>618</sup> ADB, vol 1.

### James Gunton

James Gunton was a Norfolk blacksmith who served out his assignment in the Campbell Town district. Back in England, his wife Susan had survived as well as she could in the meantime and in 1834 a bastardy order had been taken out against Thomas Randall, the local butcher, for siring her son. After receiving his free pardon Gunton remained in the district working his trade and in 1838 married Ann Minton, one of 229 free female immigrants who arrived on the *Charles Kerr* three years earlier. They eventually had eight children. On the marriage documents, he described himself as a bachelor (although Susan did not die until 1857). He slowly built up his blacksmith business in Cleveland and in 1842 he was recorded as employing two men in the business. He petitioned the government for a title to the land where his house and smithy stood, claiming that he was entitled to it as payment for his part in the apprehension of a highwayman named Regan in 1839. Eventually, deeds were prepared for the land but it is not clear whether Gunton took them up. In later life, when well into his sixties, Gunton went to the property of "Fordon" at Nile and worked as blacksmith there. He was killed by the kick of a horse that he was shoeing at the age of seventy three.

### John Tongs

John Tongs was a Hampshire blacksmith who left his wife Fanny on the parish when he was transported on the *Eliza*. He spent his entire period of assignment on the property of Joseph Archer at Norfolk Plains (Longford) and appears to have remained in the district after he received, first, his ticket of leave and, later, his free pardon. He worked as a blacksmith, employing former *Proteus* machine breaker James Barton, a wire worker, at his forge until he had saved enough money to go home. In 1842 he returned to England and brought Fanny and their five children out to Van Diemen's Land as free immigrants. When he arrived back in the colony in 1843 he was 47 years old. The family settled in the town of Longford where John worked at his trade. Tongs was a devout Methodist and a story about his devotion has survived in local parish history:

John Tongs, keen, gifted, courageous, lived near to God. His sermons were rich in spiritual thought. John Tongs used to relate some wonderful answers to prayer. Here is one. "Riding from Launceston to Carrick to take a service, he got off the pony near the turn-off to Longford, and the pony broke away from him and galloped up the road, and he could not catch her, and he said 'I told the Lord that I was going on His work to preach his word at Carrick, and I could not get there without the pony, and the pony stopped and came walking straight back, and let me catch her'".<sup>619</sup>

Tongs died in 1869, and his headstone in the Longford Methodist Cemetery described him as "for upwards of forty years a consistent member and useful office bearer in the Methodist Church".

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<sup>619</sup> R. Hunt, *A Century of Methodism in Longford, Tasmania 1834 - 1934*, pamphlet, Launceston 1934, p.17



### **John Kingshott**

The Hampshire ploughman John Kingshott's family had received free passage to Van Diemen's Land in 1835 after his employer, Mrs Ann Bridger, vouched for him and undertook to provide accommodation for his entire family. They remained in the New Norfolk area after he received a conditional pardon in 1837 and he probably continued working on Mrs Bridger's property until he was able to lease a property of his own at Brushy Bottom. His wife Mary died in 1839 and, one by one, the children left home as they married, in the case of the daughters, or as they took on their own farms in the case of the sons. By 1848, at the age of fifty three, he was still farming and occupied a small farmhouse with Ellen, the only child born after the family reached the colony, and one ticket-of-leave farm servant. Most of the sons and daughters remained in the Lachlan/New Norfolk area but in 1866 he died at the house of one of his sons, who was farming at O'Briens Bridge (now Glenorchy).

### **Joseph Fisher**

Joseph Fisher was an Oxfordshire carpenter/wheelwright who, on arrival, had been assigned to John Lucas at Browns River (Kingston). In 1832 he successfully applied for a free passage for his wife Mary and son William, and they arrived in September 1834. They had three more children, all born at Browns River. Fisher continued working for Lucas on his property for a few years after receiving his free pardon in 1836 and he also became associated with a Methodist group which built the first church at Browns River. After it failed, he became associated with the development of an Anglican church in the district as well. In 1843 he was appointed district postmaster but a year later resigned after taking out a licence for the Retreat Inn, a public house in the town. In 1845 Fisher started the first mail and passenger coach service between Hobart and Browns River, following the newly constructed Taroona road, with its departure point being the stables at the Retreat Inn. At first it was just a cab with a dicky behind but when traffic increased he purchased a larger stage coach with a team of four horses. He became known as "One-arm Fisher" later in his life after he lost an arm in a shooting accident, but continued to drive the coach with the aid of a hook attached to a belt around his waist.

Fisher's declining years were struck with mixed fortunes. Mary died in 1855 and he remarried in 1859. A year later his assets were auctioned, presumably as part of bankruptcy proceedings, although he managed to retain his innkeeper's licence for another ten years. He rebuilt his fortunes in time and bought a large house which, after significant extensions, was opened up to the public as the Kingston Hotel. It became the new terminus for his coach service, which by then was operated by his son. He also took out a licence for the Longley Inn in 1870. Fisher died in 1882.

To complete the picture, it must be conceded that some machine breakers who remained in the colony - perhaps as many as a dozen - accumulated serious criminal records and at least seven ended their days at Port Arthur or other institutions like the Paupers Depot. They were an interesting mixture of men who already had serious records of criminality before they came out to the colony, some who failed to cope with the Assignment system once they became subject to it, and some who turned to crime only after they received their freedom.

Probably one of the most extreme examples of the latter group was the Hampshire ploughman Thomas Harding.

### **Thomas Harding**

After a spotless record Harding received his free pardon in February 1836 but in August 1838 was committed for trial in Morven (Evandale) for receiving five one-pound notes, knowing them to be stolen. He was duly sentenced to a second period of transportation for seven years and was assigned to the Spring Hill Road Party. A month later he absconded and remained at large for six months. When recaptured, he received a further sentence of two years including one year on the Bridgewater Chain Gang. Less than three weeks after being sentenced to the chain gang he absconded again and was never recaptured. It is possible that he managed to secure a berth in a vessel headed for Port Phillip and escaped from the island.

### **Those Who Left Van Diemen's Land For Other Colonies in Australia**

Overwhelmingly, the most popular destination for emancipated machine breakers who left the island was the newly established colony of Port Phillip.

Much has been made of the early "Vandemonian" influence on the Port Phillip settlement,<sup>620</sup> principally because its founders (Batman and Fawkner) and its earliest settlers (members of the Port Phillip Association) were from Van Diemen's Land. But the emphasis has always been on the highest layer of this new society - the free settlers who brought capital, labour and stock to the new colony - and generally it ignores their servants. A large number of machine breakers accompanied those early pioneers as their shepherds and station managers.

The granting of free pardons to almost 240 of the machine breakers coincided with the beginnings of the settlement of Port Phillip. It is not surprising that the members of the Port Phillip Association and other settlers making the trip across Bass Strait should take with them their most trusted and experienced farm workers - and often those men were machine breakers.

There are at least a dozen recorded instances of machine breakers crossing Bass Strait as servants of the earliest settlers in the first two or three months of the new colony's establishment. Members of the Port Phillip Association who took machine breakers with them included John Pascoe Fawkner, T. and W. Robertson, John Gellibrand, James Simpson, John Sinclair, and John Wedge. Other pioneer settlers who weren't members of the Association, but who took machine breakers with them included James Brown, C.O. Parsons, William and Thomas Roadnight, and the principals of the Clyde Company.

A good example was the Wiltshire ploughman William Taylor, who had spent most of his period of assignment in Van Diemen's Land working on the Little Swan Port property of the Campbell Town district police magistrate (and Association partner)

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<sup>620</sup> See, for example, A.G.L. Shaw, *Vandemonian Influences on Port Phillip Settlement*, Bulletin of the Centre For Tasmanian Historical Studies, vol 2, No 2, (1989-90), p.15 and more generally *A History of the Port Phillip Settlement*, Miegunyah Press, Melbourne, 1996.

James Simpson. Taylor accompanied William Robertson and John Gellibrand (also members of the Association) on the *Norval* when it left Launceston in January 1836 as a shepherd for the cargo of 1100 sheep they were taking to the new colony. Their vessel encountered a severe gale, an account of which was written by Gellibrand.<sup>621</sup> It caused the death of 115 sheep and the spoiling of most of the fodder they carried. After eight days, the remaining stock were landed at Western Port and eventually driven to Port Phillip.

A machine breaker who was "passed on" by one master to another for the Port Phillip adventure was the Gloucestershire ploughman Richard Venwell. He had worked out his period of assignment on the northern property of James Grant and when he received his freedom he went to work for John Wallace, who was Grant's nephew. In 1836, he accompanied Wallace across Bass Strait to manage 'Ballark', a large sheep run that Wallace had acquired.

Others found positions of employment with Port Phillip pioneers because of their excellent conduct records. Elias Kettle, for example, secured employment with William and Thomas Roadnight as a stock handler. He sailed from Launceston on the *Vansittart* with the Roadnight brothers on 27 April 1836. The vessel carried 500 of their sheep. Kettle returned to Launceston and sailed to the new colony again on 6 June 1836. This time, it was on the more famous vessel, the *Enterprize*, and she carried 300 more sheep for the Roadnight brothers. It is most likely that Kettle continued to work as a shepherd for the brothers in the Port Phillip district until he struck out for New South Wales some time after 1842 with his new wife.

One machine breaker who earned a small niche in the historical records of the early settlement of Port Phillip was the Hampshire ploughman John Hopgood. Both he and his brother George had been found guilty of machine breaking, but George had sailed on board the *Eleanor* for New South Wales. Hopgood spent his entire period of assignment in Van Diemen's Land in the service of Phillip Russell at his property of Black Marsh in Bothwell. In 1836, Russell was one of the original signatories to the contract of co-partnership of the Clyde Company, a joint undertaking by Scottish merchants and Van Diemen's Land settlers to establish a sheep station in Port Phillip. Russell's brother George was manager of Black Marsh and he was assigned the task of scouting out the new district and establishing a property for the company.<sup>622</sup>

When George Russell left Launceston on the *Enterprize* for Port Phillip in October 1836, he took two men with him to help establish the property. One of them was John Hopgood:

The two men I had with me were known by the names of 'Big Jack' and 'Little Jack',<sup>623</sup> the first being a big burly Englishman sent out to Tasmania as a convict about the year 1831, for machine breaking. (A number of agricultural labourers from the southern counties of England were transported to the penal colonies for

<sup>621</sup> J Gellibrand, *Letters From Victorian Pioneers*, T Bride, (Ed), Govt. Printer, Melbourne, 1898. Letter No. 56, p.279.

<sup>622</sup> P. Brown (ed), *The Narrative of George Russell of Golf Hill*, OUP, Brisbane, 1935, p.106.

<sup>623</sup> This second person was John Evans. It is unknown whether he was a former convict. He was certainly not a machine breaker. Ibid, p.119 (Notes).

the same offence, many of whom were good farming men.) Big Jack was from Hampshire, and was in the employment of Squire Sweetapple near Andover. He used to tell me wonderful stories of the wealth and importance of this squire, with his dozen stabled hunters and other things of a like nature; he said that Hampshire was the finest county in England and produced more wheat than any other county, and that Squire Sweetapple's property was the finest property in Hampshire. .... Big Jack's tongue was always at work.<sup>624</sup>

The site they finally settled was on the Moorabool River, later known as Millar's Flat. Russell and the two Jacks built two huts made of sheoak slabs, the roofs being thatched with long grass, and soon the sheep arrived from Bothwell, having first been shorn before being transported across Bass Strait. Hopgood stayed with Russell for less than a year and in May 1837 he was discharged after being convicted of misconduct, his outstanding wages being ordered forfeited to the Company.<sup>625</sup> He remained in the new colony and in 1841 married the eighteen year old Irish bounty immigrant Anne Duggan in Melbourne. They had six children - including a son who was apparently named after another machine breaker, the Buckinghamshire paper maker Samuel Summerfield - and a daughter who may have been named after his convict transport, the *Eliza*.

Hopgood and his family moved to the Coimadai area near Bacchus Marsh as pioneers. The local historian Anders Hjorth wrote:

From what I can learn, the first white man to make Coimadai his domicile was a Mr John Hopgood who lived in a hut on the left bank of the creek, opposite to what is now known as the Sodawater Spring. That was somewhere in the 1850s. Mr Hopgood was also the discoverer of the lime deposits, which were at first worked in a small way by him and his sons.<sup>626</sup>

Years later, a local dignitary was quoted in the *Bacchus Marsh Express* as saying he "remembered the time when Mr Hopgood was in this locality - a sort of Robinson Crusoe and monarch of all he surveyed".<sup>627</sup>

Hopgood stayed in the Coimadai area after he and Ann separated, and he continued to work the lime kiln. After he retired to Bacchus Marsh in the late 1860s, one of his sons carried on the lime business. Even in retirement, he cultivated a small market garden until shortly before his death in 1880.

A number of the machine breakers who sailed to Port Phillip became very wealthy in their own right - particularly those who arrived in the colony in its earliest years of settlement.

The Hampshire carter/horse groom James Ford is a good example. After serving his time on the Van Diemen Land Company estates, Ford went to work for John Pascoe Fawkner. In December 1836, he accompanied Fawkner and his wife on the *Enterprize*

<sup>624</sup> Ibid, p.118.

<sup>625</sup> *Clyde Company Papers, (Vol II), (1836-1840)*, OUP, London 1952, p. 48.

<sup>626</sup> A. Hjorth, *Coimadai*, MS Melb.

<sup>627</sup> *Bacchus Marsh Express*, 25 May 1867.

to Port Phillip. On its next trip, the vessel carried over Fawkner's goods and cattle. As with the other machine breakers who sailed to the new colony, it would appear that Ford worked for Fawkner only for a few years until he could secure a small farm of his own at Darebin Creek in what is now North Melbourne. In 1841, he married Hannah Sullivan, with fellow machine breaker Samuel Morey (the Younger) and Catherine his wife acting as witnesses at the ceremony. Morey and Ford were from the same small village of Havant in Hampshire. The same year, Ford and Hannah moved to Point Nepean, to a larger farm which he named Portsea – after which the district ultimately took its name. There, he built up a steady business supplying ships coming through the Heads with fresh vegetables and meat and later established a lime burning operation. He made a fortune during the Gold Rush, supplying provisions to the gold fields and burnt lime for the building industry in rapidly expanding Melbourne. With the money he made, he built and operated a hotel at Portsea named "The Nepean Hotel". He did not live long to enjoy his new-found wealth, unfortunately, dying in 1854.

The next major surge of machine breakers to the new colony occurred in 1840, when a severe depression gripped Van Diemen's Land. Its seeds had been sown in 1838 when the price of wool fell dramatically in London and the delayed impact had its effect in the colony in the last months of 1839.<sup>628</sup> The depression lasted for four years and conditions did not improve until 1845 when wool prices rose again.<sup>629</sup> In late 1844, the Wiltshire shoemaker Peter Withers wrote to his wife:

I tell you there is nothing But Puerty Cring through the Land it was a good Place about 4 years ago But Now there is thousands of men Wich have no imployment the Contrey is in Bankerup state every Week there is insolvants in our news Papers so that trade is at a stake<sup>630</sup>

Many machine breakers left the colony at this time. Most of them went to Port Phillip, which was not as badly affected by the depression and offered more opportunities for emancipists – particularly those with a trade.

A good example was the Hampshire bricklayer Samuel Morey (The Younger). After he received his ticket of leave in 1835, Morey remained in Hobart, probably to work at his building trade. Three months after receiving his free pardon in February 1836, he married the free Irish immigrant girl Catherine Travers at New Town. They remained in Hobart for another three or four years, but the depression dried up all building activity in the town and they moved to Melbourne in 1840, possibly at the written urging of his fellow machine breaker James Ford. Morey set himself up as a builder, first in Brighton and then in St Kilda. With the growth in Melbourne following the Gold Rush, his building business expanded. In 1858, he built the Inkerman Hotel in St Kilda and became a hotel keeper. It appears the hotel venture was a financial disaster for him and in 1860 he sold the hotel, by which time he had sold most of his other properties in St Kilda as well. By 1863, the family had moved

<sup>628</sup> R. M. Hartwell, *The Economic Development of Van Diemen's Land 1820 – 1850*, p.225

<sup>629</sup> Ibid, p.232

<sup>630</sup> Withers Letters, AOT, 20 October 1844.

to Prahran, from where he engaged in the building trade again. He finally died in 1896, three months after Catherine had passed away.

Two other machine breakers who left the colony at this time were the brick makers Robert Vivash and Richard Groves. In parallel careers, Groves established a successful brickmaking business in Geelong and was joined by his brother Joseph from England. Vivash established an equally successful brickmaking business in Hawthorn and was joined by two of his brothers from England.

The final major outflow of machine breakers occurred in 1850/51, with the discovery of gold in Victoria. Rudé states that at least twenty machine breakers left Launceston in Melbourne-bound vessels around this time, probably all for the goldfields<sup>631</sup> and an unknown number left from Hobart and all the small wharves and jetties around the island's coastline for which official records were not kept. Reflecting the enduring links that existed between the machine breakers, some like Arthur Hillier and Joseph Beminster sailed for Port Phillip together. Although a few who had already sunk deep roots into the colony (such as the Bothwell farmers William North and Robert Blake, and the Evandale blacksmith Arthur Hillier) returned, most gold fields bound machine breakers disappeared from Van Diemen's Land official records - remaining in Victoria to become small farmers, carriers or end their days as agricultural labourers.

### **Machine Breakers Who Went Further Afield**

As other colonies became established, a small number of machine breakers sought their fortunes elsewhere.

Two such men were the father and son pair of Arthur and George Binstead. The Binsteds were top and bottom sawyers from Sussex who received their freedom in 1837. Arthur's wife Maria had already come to Van Diemen's Land in 1834 with the balance of their dependant family of three children, and George had married Elizabeth Trotman after receiving his freedom. They moved with their families, first to New South Wales, where another son, John, was serving out his sentence as a convict transported for burglary. They settled in Penrith, where John was temporarily assigned. In 1842 Arthur and some of his family moved to the newly settled colony of Brisbane - 1842 being the year Governor Gipps formally declared Moreton Bay to no longer be a penal settlement. Arthur established a sawmill in Brisbane - one of the first in the settlement and certainly the largest for many years. Although George went to Melbourne to live, Arthur was joined in Brisbane by his other son, John, when he received his pardon in New South Wales. Upon Arthur's death in 1852, his widow returned to Melbourne, to live with George's family.

A few machine breakers went to South Australia after its establishment as a colony. Three that can be confirmed are the Essex ploughman William Bloomfield, the Wiltshire shoemaker Peter Withers and the Kent butcher Richard Oliphant. Bloomfield and Withers had re-married while they were in Van Diemen's Land and Bloomfield left the island some time around 1845. Withers left some time after 1844 - probably in 1846, when his new wife received an inheritance. Oliphant left the

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<sup>631</sup> Rudé, Captain Swing and VDL, p 19.

colony on the *Charlotte* out of Launceston in March 1839.<sup>632</sup> On board the same vessel was Thomas Golder, who had been convicted of complicity in the same machine breaking episode in Birchington as Oliphant but who had been transported to Van Diemen's Land on the *Gilmore* in 1833. Virtually nothing is known about the later lives of these men in the new colony, however.

### Those Machine Breakers who Returned Home.

It was exceedingly rare for any pardoned convict to make the journey back to England. In 1833, Arthur wrote "It is a fact that not more than two convicts out of a hundred ever return to England."<sup>633</sup> He reiterated similar views before the Molesworth Committee in 1837, a conclusion which would clearly have included his knowledge or perceptions about what he assumed had been the fate of the machine breakers.<sup>634</sup> With specific reference to the machine breakers, in 1911 the Hammonds quoted Hudson's statement in "*A Shepherd's Life*" that "very few, not more than one in five or six, ever returned [to England]".<sup>635</sup> This is actually a very high percentage, and the Hammonds provide no evidence to support Hudson's statement. In 1961, Rudé expressed the view that the figure seemed inflated<sup>636</sup> and he claimed to have found only one pardoned machine breaker - from the *Eleanor* - who ever returned home, and that was only because he accompanied his new master to England as a servant.<sup>637</sup> Shaw subsequently adopted Rudé's findings that only one machine breaker returned home,<sup>638</sup> although he went on to draw the more general conclusion that about five per cent of all pardoned convicts may have returned to England, Scotland and Ireland.<sup>639</sup> Rudé's views also formed the basis of the same finding by Hobsbawm and Rudé in their later work *Captain Swing*,<sup>640</sup> although by the time their book was published in 1969 Rudé had discovered John Tongs, the Hampshire blacksmith who returned to England for long enough to pack up his family and sail back to Van Diemen's Land.<sup>641</sup>

There is now strong evidence that Hudson's assertion that as many as one in five or six machine breakers returned to England may not be too far from the true figure.

At least thirty four machine breakers transported to Van Diemen's Land can be confirmed as having returned to their original villages after receiving their pardons. This should, however, be regarded as the minimum number who resurfaced in England. Approximately half that number is based on searches of census records for 1841 and 1850 carried out in the counties of Wiltshire, Hampshire and Buckinghamshire.<sup>642</sup> Those results cover only 205 of the machine breakers and was

<sup>632</sup> *Launceston Advertiser*, 21 March 1839.

<sup>633</sup> G. Arthur, *Observations Upon Secondary Punishment*, 1833, p.22.

<sup>634</sup> Evidence of G Arthur, Transportation Committee Report, para. 4322. For a discussion of these and other references, see G. Rudé, *Captain Swing* and VDL, p.18.

<sup>635</sup> Hammonds, p.247, [Author's italics.]

<sup>636</sup> Rudé, *Captain Swing* and VDL, p.18

<sup>637</sup> Ibid.

<sup>638</sup> A.G.L. Shaw, *Convicts and the Colonies*, p.143

<sup>639</sup> Shaw, *ibid.*

<sup>640</sup> Hobsbawm and Rudé, *Captain Swing*, p.275.

<sup>641</sup> Ibid, p.275.

<sup>642</sup> J. Chambers, *Machine Breaker Records*, *ibid*

limited to searching for transported rioters in the records of their native villages. Those who may have returned to England and gone elsewhere, for example, (particularly any unmarried men, who would not have families to return to) would not have been logged - nor those who returned to their villages and then moved on with their families, perhaps even back to the colonies - like John Tongs and Edmund Steele.

It also needs to be kept in mind that some of the machine breakers only received conditional pardons, which did not permit them to return to England. There was at least one machine breaker who received only a conditional pardon who would have returned home if permitted to do so. The Hampshire ploughman John Newman received a conditional pardon in 1838. In 1845, his sister wrote to the Secretary of State in London twice, begging that her brother be permitted to return home to care for the rest of the family. She was apparently a lace maker, but had become crippled. In her second letter, she stated that John had written to her from Van Diemen's Land, asking her to find out whether he could be permitted to return home.<sup>643</sup> Sadly, the Home Government did not change its mind, and Newman died in the colony in 1887. There may have been others in a similarly frustrating situation to that of Newman.

Whereas the Tolpuddle Martyrs had the cost of their return voyages paid by the British Government after they received their pardons, the machine breakers were left to fend for themselves. Not surprisingly, therefore, the earliest returns to England were made by those men who had brought out money with them to cover the cost of their return voyages. John Boyes and Thomas Goddard were on vessels bound for England within a short period after receiving their pardons. Boyes, who received the earliest pardon, had embarked on a vessel within a matter of weeks of being advised of his pardon by Arthur in December 1835. Goddard had left the colony by June 1836; on the same vessel (the *Norval*) was his fellow machine breaker the Wiltshire ploughman William Marsh. How Marsh had been able to save the return fare to England so quickly is unknown; he only brought eight shillings and sixpence to the colony in 1831.<sup>644</sup>

Interestingly, not all those who bought substantial sums out to the colony used their savings to return home. Of the ten machine breaker convicts identified in Part 3 as having brought the largest amounts of money to the colony only Boyes and Goddard can be confirmed as having returned home. Two others - Robert Keeble of Essex and Moses Turner of Buckinghamshire - disappeared from the records of the colony after 1836 and so may have returned to England, although it is just as likely they sailed to another colony. A further two can be confirmed as having gone to other colonies. Thomas Goodman (who gave Crown evidence against William Cobbett) went to New South Wales and John Olden, a Wiltshire labourer, went to Victoria. The other four are confirmed as having remained in the colony. One of them - William Dove - achieved great personal wealth before his death, and another - John Kingshott - established himself as a respected small farmer in the New Norfolk area.

For others, a year or two passed before they boarded vessels bound for England, simply because they needed to save the money for the long passage home. The cost of

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<sup>643</sup> PRO HO17/54, pt 1, p 25.

<sup>644</sup> CON 280/36, pp106 - 116.



a steerage passage back to England at this time was between fifteen and twenty pounds – not an enormous amount but certainly large enough to represent a considerable barrier to the average farm labourer. A few contrived to get home earlier by working their passage as deck crew or, in the case of James Barton of Buckinghamshire, as a steward on a London bound vessel. Reflecting the pattern of close contacts established by those who remained in the colony, a number of machine breakers returned to England in the company of their fellow rioters. In addition to the early example of Goddard and Marsh described above, the Essex ploughman William Curtis and the Suffolk ploughman Cromwell Potter left Launceston in March 1837 on the same London bound vessel as steerage passengers.

Not surprisingly, almost all those who returned to England were men who had left wives and children behind. The only known bachelor who returned was Samuel Barrett, a labourer/ploughman from Wiltshire. It is possible that a second one, the Buckinghamshire labourer John Crutch, did return and live in his native village of Flackwell Heath for a few years before returning to the colonies. The village census for 1841 records a labourer named John Crutch of the right age living in the village at the time although he definitely reappears in Port Phillip records just a year later. One widower, the Hampshire ploughman James Cooper, also returned to his native village where his child had been cared for by relatives during his long years of absence.

Even on a per capita basis, most of those who ultimately returned to their villages were labourers and ploughmen. The mechanics appear to have been more likely to remain in the colonies. Presumably, this would have been due to the greater opportunities that were open to mechanics in the new land.

The fact that so many of those who returned to their villages were labourers or ploughmen is perhaps also indicative, again, of the innate conservatism of many of the participants in the 1830 riots, in that many of them wanted to return to their homes even after living for at least five years on the other side of the world.

In almost all cases the machine breakers who chose to return to England were thereby seriously limiting their personal opportunities. Most ended their working lives still behind the ploughs, in conditions which were no better than those which drove them to riot in the first place.

There were only a small number of success stories among their subsequent careers. James Boyes was one, although he obviously had the benefit of substantial funds behind him even before he had been transported. As a result of his conviction and transportation Boyes had forfeited his small holding but, by 1856 when he died, he had re-established himself to a stage where he again had a small farm and employed five labourers. The other minor success story was the Wiltshire ploughman Thomas Light. By 1851 he was recorded in a census as being a farmer of 7 acres. This was a modest holding and it should be remembered that in his original 1831 convict records Light's wife, Martha, was described as keeping a small school at West Grimstead. It is quite possible that the price of the small farm, or its lease, had been paid for with money from Martha's purse. In any event, Light was 69 years old by 1851, so his rise to "success" had not been meteoric.

Thomas Goddard, the political activist, returned to Ramsbury in Wiltshire and resumed his trade as a tanner. His wife Susan had died during his absence and he remarried in 1837. He remained a tanner and does not appear to have gone on to any great success. His eldest son, however, became a prosperous shoemaker and established a small factory cum shop in Ramsbury while Goddard was still alive.

Like Goddard, virtually all the others did not rise above their previous station. The best they could hope for was that in late middle age they might be able to secure less demanding jobs. The Wiltshire ploughman James Hale, for example, was working as a gentleman's servant by 1851, and the Hampshire carpenter William Arney was working as a messenger the same year. Their ages by then were fifty and forty nine respectively and they appear to have represented the exceptional cases.

At least two returned machine breakers did make an attempt to improve their station in life, but failed. The Wiltshire ploughmen John and Samuel Barrett returned to the village of Tisbury in about 1839. At first they took up the plough again but by 1851 the two brothers had gone into the blacksmithing trade - with unfortunate results. In August 1851, Elizabeth Martin wrote to her machine breaker brother Thomas Vinen, who lived in New Norfolk:

john and samuel is carrying on the blacksmith together they cant agree together they have been to fight and samuel has knockt one of johns eyes out so I think they soon be as bad as charles snook<sup>645</sup> so my dear brother you see there is no prospect by them.<sup>646</sup>

By the end of the year John Barrett was a ploughman again and Samuel was living in the nearby village of Wardour.

No evidence has been found to indicate that any machine breaker who returned to England from Van Diemen's Land took part in any subsequent social or political activity in England such as Chartism. This appears to be the case amongst the *Eleanor* men as well. The most obvious candidate for a return to political activism was Joseph Mason, the principal organiser of dissent in the Dever Valley of Hampshire and architect of the King's Petition. Even he does not appear to have returned to activism. Instead, Mason settled his family twenty miles from his original village of Bullington and worked as a labourer. By 1851, he had established himself as a small tenant farmer. Kent and Townsend noted "Between 1838 and 1848 the Chartist movement revived the claim of working men to have the vote. While it is highly likely that Joseph sympathized with a political agenda which was so similar to his own he cannot, as yet, be linked to Chartism in Reading".<sup>647</sup> It is also worthy of note that Joseph's brother and fellow radical, Robert Mason, chose to remain in New South Wales rather than return home after receiving his free pardon. There is no record of him becoming involved in social or political issues in the colony either.

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<sup>645</sup> Charles Snook was a fellow villager and machine breaker who successfully avoided transportation in 1831.

<sup>646</sup> Elizabeth Martin to Thomas Vinen, 27 August 1851. Letters held by Alan Vinen, Melbourne.

<sup>647</sup> D. Kent and N. Townsend (Eds), *Joseph Mason; Assigned Convict*, MUP 1996, p.175.

There were a few isolated individuals who, after returning to their homes, made plans to take their families back to the colonies- perhaps after accepting that opportunities for them and their children were limited in England. The Hampshire blacksmith John Tongs, who returned to England in 1842, brought his entire family out to the colony in 1843 and lived in Longford where he established himself as a blacksmith.<sup>648</sup> A machine breaker sent to Van Diemen's Land who made similar plans was the Hampshire ploughman John Collins. He returned to England and in 1838 applied for assisted passage for himself, his wife and six children to emigrate to South Australia. Unfortunately, assistance was refused, on the grounds that he had previously been transported. One machine breaker who had been transported to New South Wales on the *Eleanor*, Thomas Mackrell, returned to England after receiving his pardon but soon gathered his family together and then emigrated to Van Diemen's Land in 1842.

### **The Desire to Return Home.**

One of the more interesting features of the experience of the machine breakers from the *Proteus* and the *Eliza* is that, although a surprising number did make the tremendous efforts and sacrifices necessary to return home, clearly most eventually chose to make their homes in the new continent.

Reflecting their conservative roots, the available evidence suggests that in the early years of their post-convict careers they were still tied very closely to their villages and families and seriously contemplated ways and means of being reunited, either in Van Diemen's Land or in England. Their dilemma was the extraordinary distance which separated convict and family. Also, many of them began to realise that conditions in England had not improved, and their lives in the colonies were better than what they could hope for back in England. In 1841, for example, one young woman wrote to her machine breaker uncle Thomas Vinen warning him that conditions in England seemed worse than ever and that many of his village friends would rather be in the colony with him.<sup>649</sup> Serious efforts were in fact being made at this same time to encourage pauper emigration out of England in response to the worsening conditions:

The Poor Law Amendment Act of 1834 empowered the ratepayers of any parish to raise or borrow a sum of money, 'not exceeding half the average yearly rate for the three preceding years...for defraying the expenses of the emigration of poor persons having settlements in such parish and willing to emigrate'.<sup>650</sup>

Slowly, therefore, many of the machine breakers began to create new lives for themselves in the colonies.

The letters of Peter Withers, for example, reflect an early desire on his part to return home or at least have his wife Mary Ann join him in the colony; but over time he accepted that his new life lay in the colonies. In his first letter to Mary Ann, written only days before his transportation on the *Proteus*, he expressed the hope that she would come out to join him as soon as approval was granted:

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<sup>648</sup> Ibid, p.111.

<sup>649</sup> Sarah Andrews to Thomas Vinen, 24 October 1841.

<sup>650</sup> R. B. Madgwick, *Immigration into Eastern Australia 1788-1851*, Sydney, p.141.

My Dear i hope you will go to the gentlman for they to pay your Pasag over to Me When I sent for you how hapy I shall be to eare that you are acoming after me when I gets over My Dear Wife ...I prays to god day and knight to sent you after Me for then both of us we should hapy as I sincerely hope the Lord Will grant me my Pertision for I cencirly prays to him for he to have mercy upon us and bring us together once more and I hope you will pray for it to My Dear Wife.<sup>651</sup>

By 1833, Withers was working for a Mr Goode near or in Hobart Town. He wrote to his brother:

I have sent 2 Letters to my Wife an Cant get heney Answer from her Wich Causeth Me a great deal of unhapyness for I think she have quit forgotten Me or I think she is got Marred to som other Man if she is pray sent Me Word and sent me all the Perticklers how she behaves to My dear dear children.....i must stay in this country 16 years except I can gete heney Remison of my Centens Dear Brother if you will be so good as to get a pertison drawed out for a Remison of My Centens ... then I shall soon see My dear Children Again Wich it is my Earnest Prayre to see you all again.<sup>652</sup>

By 1836, when he had received his free pardon, Withers appears to have given up any hope of seeing his family again and he married Ann Wade in Hobart Town, putting his status on the marriage certificate as bachelor.

In October 1844, Withers finally received a letter from Mary Ann. He wrote back:

I must now tell you that I am marrid again and I have a stadey vertus Woman for my Wife I have been thinking in the Course of two years I shall Be able to send you a small Living about ten or fifteen Pounds a year to wich my wife agree....i now that for to eare that I am married is a hard trial for you to bare but it is no good to tell you a lye I sent a great maney leters Before I took a Wife so not earing from you an I being a young man I thought it a proper thing to Look for a partner wich would be a Comfort to me in my Bondage I sent for you to Com out to this Country when I came first an if you had you would got me out of Bondag for nothing But a wife Cold get a Relace for her husband so we must not think about Coming together again.<sup>653</sup>

A series of letters written by various family members to the Wiltshire ploughman Thomas Vinen over many years reflect similar yearnings to reunite the family, followed later on by a tinge of disappointment that he appears to have chosen to remain in Van Diemen's Land rather than return home. Eventually, this turned into a kind of reluctant but understanding acceptance that he probably would never return home, but they still maintained a hope that he might do so one day.

<sup>651</sup> Peter Withers to Mary Ann Withers, 6 April 1831, Withers Letters, AOT.

<sup>652</sup> Peter Withers to James Dowling, 15 September 1833, AOT.

<sup>653</sup> Peter Withers to Mary Ann Withers, 20 October 1844, AOT.

In December 1836, Mary Vinen wrote to her brother. It is clear that she knew he must have received a free pardon by then:

the same Harts that has been hevey will now soon rejoys with joy wich non on Earth can tell but them that feels it knows to think that if please God we shall meet Father Mother sisters and Brothers wich will be ajoyful metting in Old England...I promis you that nothing shall be wanting to Bring you Back to Old England but I have been informed that many agres with a Capten to work by times to help to pay thair pasige and I will pay them when you arrive in England and be happy to meet their demand Dear Brother...I am desired to wish you not to get maried as Sarah Stevens is in serves and sends her best love to you and never intend to get marid tell you return to England<sup>654</sup>

Vinen had in fact married Mary Burrows, a convict woman, two months before his sister had put pen to paper. She had a child three weeks after their wedding. Over the ensuing years, various Vinen family members wrote to Thomas urging him to return.

In January 1838, Elizabeth Martin (Vinen) wrote to her brother:

you said in your letter you was married and we was all very glad to hear you was dear brother we should be more happy to see you and your wife and son in this Country...you said it would be five years before you return but we hope you will shortn three of them if please God dear brother we Hope that you will make up your mind and come home as quick as possiable for I think you might do as well in london as you may in foreign parts... Sarah Stevens sends her respect to you and she is sorry to hear that you are married but she hopes it will be for the best...<sup>655</sup>

Over time, there developed a reluctant acceptance that the family would not be reunited - in part due to a realisation that conditions in England were getting harder for the rural labourer and that perhaps conditions were better in the colonies. The colonies were in fact being now seen as a desirable place for labourers to emigrate to. In October 1841, Vinen's niece, Sarah Andrews wrote to him:

in your last letter you talked of coming home we shall be most happy to see you but whether you are comming or not do write by return of post...Uncle Martin sends his kind love to you it giving you but poor hopes of returning but the country seems worse than ever all the young men were wishing they were over where you are ....a great many of your old companions are enlisted as soldiers.<sup>656</sup>

The Vinen family were obviously very close and members of the family were still writing to Thomas as late as 1856- keeping alive the pious hope that he might return:

<sup>654</sup> Mary Vinen to Thomas Vinen, 12 December 1836, Letters held by Alan J Vinen, Melbourne.

<sup>655</sup> Elizabeth Martin to Thomas Vinen, 30 January 1838.

<sup>656</sup> Sarah Andrews to Thomas Vinen, 24 October 1841.

My dear Brother I suppose we must give up all hopes of seeing you any more But I must live I hopes that we shall if not in this world we may in the next But I shall live in hopes to see all of you in England.<sup>657</sup>

Thomas Vinen never did return to England; he lived out the rest of his life as a small farmer in New Norfolk, siring seven children over the years.

### Domestic Arrangements

When they disembarked in Hobart Town in 1831, approximately 180 machine breakers from the *Proteus* and the *Eliza* were married men. Although possibly up to fifty of them did return home, and perhaps another dozen were joined by their wives in the colony, the yawning distance between England and Van Diemen's Land ensured that most did not see their wives again. Their conduct records make it clear that, during their time as assigned convicts, many machine breakers - married or not - sought female companionship in brothels and with the female servants - assigned and free. Fortunately, none appear to have resorted to serious crimes of a sexual nature during this time. After gaining their freedom many of the single machine breakers married in the colony or in other colonies, and a large number of the married ones also contrived to marry again. Rudé estimates that at least twenty five of the latter managed to do this.<sup>658</sup> A more recent inspection of colonial marriage records and other sources indicates the figures are in fact much higher. Of the machine breakers who did not simply disappear from official records once they received their freedom in 1836 and thereafter, at least seventy seven took wives in the colonies. Fifty one of the *Eliza* men were married (thirty four of whom were bachelors and seventeen of whom were already married when they arrived in Hobart Town) and twenty six of the *Proteus* men (twelve of whom were bachelors and fourteen of whom were already married) also took wives. At least three of those who remarried were widowers. The major reason so many of the married men took wives in the colonies, as illustrated in the Withers Letters, is because they genuinely expected never to see their families again, and resolved to establish new lives in Australia.

As the biographies in the Appendix show, many machine breakers appear to have married Irish immigrant girls, who came out under assisted passage. A smaller number married convict women and a very small number married locally born women - invariably the daughters of emancipists.

Meanwhile, the dilemma faced by the machine breakers' wives back in southern England would have been horrific, particularly because so many of them had been forced onto the parish by the transportation of their husbands. At least one of them, the Huntingdonshire ploughman William Horner's wife Anne, was still in a workhouse in 1841. It is perhaps not surprising therefore that some of these women, faced with the very real problem of survival - not only for themselves but also for their children - should have made domestic arrangements which involved other providers. Indeed, there is significant evidence that this occurred quite frequently. In the county

<sup>657</sup> (Probably) Elizabeth Martin to Vinen, 26 November 1856.

<sup>658</sup> Rudé, Captain Swing and VDL, p.17.

of Wiltshire, for example, the official census records provide information about the kinds of arrangements which a number of wives entered into – probably out of necessity.

When the Wiltshire ploughman Henry Potticary was transported, his wife Elizabeth was left behind in the village of Heytesbury with three young children to bring up. Within a few years, a carpenter named William Farley had moved in with her. Unlike many other examples, however, it appears she did not bear any children by him. Potticary, for his part disappeared from Van Diemen's Land records as soon as he received his free pardon in 1836. The wife of the Hampshire ploughman John Tollard, on the other hand, bore a second child three years after he was transported (he, for his part, married again in Van Diemen's Land in 1837). The wife of the Wiltshire ploughman James Case had been left on the parish with five children when he was transported. She bore a sixth child in 1836; Case, who remained in the colony, never remarried. The wife of Wiltshire blacksmith Arthur Hillier had a second child two years after he was transported (he married again in Van Diemen's Land in 1837). And the wife of the Wiltshire ploughman John Moon had at least four more children (in addition to the two she had by him) after he was transported.<sup>659</sup> The relationships which led to these births were really the mirror image of the relationships which their husbands were creating on the other side of the world. One story worthy of note is that of the ploughman Isaac Miller. Before he was transported in 1831, Miller had been convicted of deserting his wife. Yet, when he received his freedom, he made the enormous sacrifices necessary to return home to her. When Miller finally reached his home village, he discovered that she had given birth to a child in 1833.

### **A Comparison With the Men of the *Eleanor*.**

The recent publication of Kent and Townsend's book on the machine breakers transported to New South Wales on the *Eleanor*<sup>660</sup> provides an opportunity to compare the fate of those men with the machine breakers on the *Proteus* and the *Eliza*.

It would appear that the *Eleanor* men did not disperse anywhere near as widely as their counterparts who had been sent to Van Diemen's Land. Most of those who received their freedom chose to remain in New South Wales. In addition, they remained in the settled areas of the colony, rather than trekking very far westward or elsewhere into newer areas that were being opened up. Kent and Townsend noted that none of them appear to have got any further west than Yass.<sup>661</sup> A small number became publicans<sup>662</sup> and very few ever purchased land, although perhaps up to ten per cent did work as tenant farmers.<sup>663</sup> It would appear that none of those who remained in the colonies went on to achieve any great wealth. The wealthiest *Eleanor* man appears to have been the ploughman Thomas Goodall, who became a farmer owning land in the Hunter Valley. When he drowned in 1863, the local newspaper estimated his personal estate at twelve hundred pounds.<sup>664</sup>

<sup>659</sup> County Census Records for 1840, referred to in J Chambers, *Wiltshire Machine Breakers*, 1994.

<sup>660</sup> Kent and Townsend, *The Convicts of the Eleanor* 2002.

<sup>661</sup> Ibid, pp. 237 and 238.

<sup>662</sup> Ibid, p.239.

<sup>663</sup> Ibid, p.240.

<sup>664</sup> Ibid, p.235

Finally, Kent and Townsend were only able to confirm four machine breakers from the *Eleanor* as ever having returned to England.<sup>665</sup>

There would appear to be a number of reasons for these differences. The first is that New South Wales was a much larger, prosperous and more settled colony than Van Diemen's Land between 1836 and the 1840's. This meant the emancipated machine breakers would have had less need or desire to move as far afield to find work as did the men from Van Diemen's Land, who flooded into Port Phillip and, to a far lesser degree, into other new colonies like Brisbane and South Australia and into the hills of north west Van Diemen's Land.

Second, it would appear that there was a very high proportion of tradesmen and mechanics on the *Eleanor* – up to a third if Rudé is to be believed. The greatest demand for the skills of these men would have been in the major settled towns and larger villages in the colony, so again there was little reason for many of them to strike out into the areas of the colony that were still being opened up or to other colonies.

As to why so few *Eleanor* men apparently returned to England; the reasons are not clear, but it is noted that almost all the men from the *Proteus* and the *Eliza* who did return home were agricultural labourers – men for whom the colonies did not necessarily represent as many opportunities as they did for the tradesmen, and also men who were the most conservative. If the *Eleanor* had a high proportion of tradesmen on board, then arguably there would be fewer men interested in returning to England.

The *Eleanor* men had a different marriage profile as well. When the *Eleanor* docked in Sydney harbour, seventy one of the machine breakers declared they were married, which is a comparable figure to that of the *Proteus* and the *Eliza*. Forty four of the *Eleanor* men subsequently contracted formal marriages in the colony, which represents a proportion of thirty two per cent. The seventy seven colonial marriages among the men from the *Proteus* and the *Eliza* represents only twenty three per cent of the number of men who disembarked from the vessels, but it more relevantly represents approximately fifty per cent of those 160 men whose colonial careers simply did not disappear from the official records. When combined with the higher return rates to England (almost all of whom were married) and the slightly higher rates of wives coming out to the colonies experienced by the *Proteus* and *Eliza* men, it presents a picture of a group of men who were more likely to be with marital partners during their lives.

Kent and Townsend reach one curious conclusion about the *Eleanor* men. The authors made a comprehensive study of the marriage patterns for the *Eleanor* men and noted that, of those who did ultimately marry in the colony, nearly half married Irish Catholic girls – most of whom were bounty immigrants.<sup>666</sup> Although a similar comprehensive statistical study has not been possible for all the *Proteus* and *Eliza* men on this point (because they scattered themselves to so many different places), the

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<sup>665</sup> Ibid, p.192.

<sup>666</sup> Ibid, p.217 et seq.



biographies in the Appendix demonstrate that a large number of them also married Irish bounty girls, who would have been sent out to the colonies as a direct result of the Irish famine.

But when analysing the *Eleanor* marriage patterns, Kent and Townsend concluded, almost with a note of disappointment:

Although the Swing protesters were reasonably successful in finding wives, it took them on average about sixteen years, almost twice as long as the average for all male convicts in the colony...The women...may have felt that the Wessex men lacked drive and ambition.<sup>667</sup>

And later:

The fact that most had valued rural skills seems not to have enhanced their chances in the marriage stakes. Their innocence, lack of drive and general failure to accumulate capital may well have diminished their opportunities.<sup>668</sup>

There is certainly no indication of such an endemic lack of drive or ambition amongst the men of the *Proteus* and the *Eliza*. Apart from the higher percentage of mechanics and lower incidence of family links, the background of the machine breakers sent to New South Wales was not very different from that of the men sent to Van Diemen's Land. Perhaps their relatively less comfortable lives in Van Diemen's Land led many of the *Proteus* and *Eliza* men to greater exertions and risk taking in order to improve their condition, and this translated into a higher number of success stories. There certainly do not appear to have been any machine breakers from New South Wales, for example, who profited from the explosion in the growth of Port Phillip, nor from the opportunities created by the Victorian Gold Rush.

### THE IMPACT OF TRANSPORTATION AND ASSIGNMENT ON THE MACHINE BREAKERS

Although the experience of the machine breakers does not provide serious support for either of Arthur's two main arguments in favour of transportation (see Part 6); i.e. the deterrent effect caused by fear of transportation among ordinary rural people, nor the degrading effects of shipboard transportation with criminal elements - it does provide an opportunity to carry out an assessment of the effect of transportation and assignment on persons who would not ordinarily be regarded as typical criminals and who, in many respects, may be regarded as a group of rather ordinary rural Englishman.

The evidence strongly indicates that the experience of their transportation and assignment did not turn the machine breakers from the *Proteus* or the *Eliza* into criminals.

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<sup>667</sup> Ibid, p.219.

<sup>668</sup> Ibid, p.225.

In part, this may be due to the unique characteristics of the machine breakers as a group, and the economic value which they represented to their masters. Importantly, the typical machine breaker was several years older than the average urban convict and far more likely to be married, thus coming from a more settled family life. Also, although many of them had committed offences in England, their crimes were almost universally rural offences - aimed in most cases at feeding their families (poaching or stealing turnip greens) or keeping them warm (stealing firewood). None of them had records which indicated they had already turned into career criminals. They could, therefore, not be regarded as members of a criminal class.

The other major factor is that, in the colony of Van Diemen's Land, the machine breakers were far more valuable to their masters than the typical urban criminals who were assigned to them. All the agricultural labourers were assigned to country properties where their agricultural knowledge would have been highly prized. This meant that, in all likelihood, they would have been treated more leniently than their urban counterparts. Equally the mechanics, whether in the Loan Gang or on Public Works, would have been valued because of their trade skills and perhaps treated more leniently.

These factors mean it would be less likely that they would surrender to the Assignment System in the first place and become brutalized by it - turning into hardened criminals.

The records of the machine breakers support the primary conclusion that the essentially honest ones amongst their numbers did not become brutalized by transportation.<sup>669</sup> In general, those who did accumulate serious records in Van Diemen's Land were men who had already demonstrated a predilection for criminality before they left England. Oddly, the few machine breakers who turned to crime only after receiving their freedom were generally men who had experienced better than average convict careers. This suggests that their turning to crime (and the crime of theft in particular, which was the most common) was not due to their convict experience, but more likely due to the economic circumstances of a colony gripped by depression and a serious labour surplus.

### **Machine Breakers with Bad Convict Records.**

Most of the small number of machine breakers who accumulated bad records while they were assigned as convicts already had exhibited a leaning towards criminality before they even left England - a fact which had nothing to do with the riots of 1830. This was particularly the case in respect of convictions for crimes of violence and stealing property, which were unrelated to the typical rural offences which revolved around the pilfering of food or firewood.

The Sussex carpenter Charles Burge, for example, had been sent for trial twice in England - once for manslaughter and once for conversion. In Van Diemen's Land, he

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<sup>669</sup> A similar conclusion has recently been drawn about the effect of the convict experience on the machine breakers transported to New South Wales on the *Eleanor*. See Kent and Townsend, *The Convicts of the Eleanor*, p. 202.

appeared before the magistrates a further thirteen times - mostly for offences of disobedience - and did not receive a free pardon until 1842. The Sussex ploughman Hurloch Crockford had two previous convictions for assaulting police in England and his gaol report described him as a "Very Bad Character". In the colony, he was convicted on two occasions of suspicion of theft and insubordination. The Gloucestershire shoemaker Samuel Seal had previously been charged with rape and in the colony he committed a series of offences, including absconding. He was finally sentenced to a further period of transportation for seven years in 1838. The Kent ploughman John Seaman had previous convictions for burglary and assault, as well as being tried for arson. During the riots, he had taken the opportunity to steal a rifle from a farmer- a particularly un-Swing like act. In Van Diemen's Land, he was convicted on a number of occasions of riotous behaviour, idleness and insolence. The Hampshire labourer Thomas Green had previously been convicted of stealing in England and his record in Van Diemen's Land included convictions for being an accessory to theft and accusing a constable of a felony. William Holmes, the Wiltshire ploughman who terrorized the unfortunate Mr Wilson, also had a conviction for assault in England before he took part in the riots.

There were admittedly a few machine breakers who accumulated serious records while they were convicts, but who had not come to the attention of the Law in England. In almost all cases, they were relatively young when they were sent out as convicts and many of their early offences in the colony were breaches of the Convict Regulations, which were not typical criminal offences. It is probable they already had a predilection to criminality or at least rebelliousness but their youth meant they did not have time to accumulate criminal records in England that might have indicated this. A good example is the 18 year old Buckinghamshire shoemaker James Miles. Although Miles had not been convicted of any offences in England before his conviction for machine breaking (in a paper mill), he quickly accumulated an enviable record in the colony. It started with isolated instances of neglect of duty and disobedience of orders, but then he was regularly convicted of insubordination, being absent without leave, and eventually absconding. His sentence was extended by two years in 1833 after one serious incident of insubordination, but he soon made matters even worse. First, in June 1834, he stole and ate a loaf of bread and, when sentenced to Port Arthur, he stole and ate a fellow prisoner's food. There followed a series of offences for fighting with other prisoners, neglect of duty and being absent without leave from the chain gangs. Even when he finally received a ticket of leave in 1840, he was caught in the district of Launceston without a pass- although he was only severely reprimanded for this offence. He was eventually sentenced to a second period of transportation for ten years and died at the Hobart Hospital in 1851.

Something of a surprise is the small number of machine breakers who turned to crime - particularly crimes involving property - only after they had finished their typically well-behaved periods of assignment.

There were a handful (no more than five) who had spotless convict records but committed offences shortly after receiving their tickets of leave. In most cases, the circumstances suggest that they committed their crimes because they may not have been able to secure employment once their assignments had been completed. A good example was the Gloucestershire ploughman Edward Musto who had a spotless

assignment record while he worked for C. E. Cox at Clarence Plains. A few months after he received his ticket of leave, however, he appears to have been unemployed; he was charged with pilfering and sentenced to the Road Gang, with his ticket being suspended in the meantime. Equally, once he received his free pardon, Musto probably found secure employment because he did not commit any other offences and in 1838 he married and appears to have settled down in the colony. His was a fairly typical story of these isolated instances of immediate post-ticket of leave misdemeanours.

The story of the Hampshire gentleman's servant Richard Rampton is unusual in a number of ways; he was, for a start, neither a labourer nor a mechanic. His brother was also a waiter/servant, and his father ran a stable. How he became involved in the riots in the first place is something of a mystery. Perhaps not surprisingly, in view of his calling, Rampton spent part of his assignment at Government House. He did not come to the attention of the magistrates even once. After receiving his ticket of leave in mid 1835 he quickly secured a position at Government House again but, while still serving out his ticket, he stole a silver pencil case worth six pounds and his sentence was extended by a further three years. He appears to have lost heart thereafter and further offences of idleness and neglect led to him not receiving a conditional pardon until 1840. He finally died in a pauper's home in 1874. One is left wondering how Rampton's life might have turned out if he had not given in to temptation that day his eyes rested on the pencil case at Government House.

A further eight machine breakers who had relatively clean records as convicts turned to crime in varying degrees only after they completed their tickets of leave and received their free pardons. Some of them were first convicted around the time the 1840 depression hit Van Diemen's Land which suggests that, like those who committed property offences shortly after receiving their tickets of leave, unemployment may have been behind their crimes, all of which appear to have been for stealing. The Berkshire bricklayer Francis Norris, for example, had a very good convict record, which included a lengthy period as watchman in the Prisoners' Barracks, but in 1840 he was convicted of larceny and sentenced to 6 months on the Glenorchy Road Party. Also, in late 1839, the Hampshire ploughman William Burgess was convicted of stealing a pair of stays, two shirts, and a cap. He was sentenced to seven years transportation.

There were, of course, among those eight a few who simply misbehaved late in their lives for no obvious reason. The Hampshire country blacksmith George Clark(e), for example, had a very good record as a convict and received a free pardon in 1836. Between 1837 and 1838, however, he was convicted on three occasions of being drunk and once for assaulting a constable. He was also charged with stealing in 1839 but was discharged. The best example is the record of the Hampshire ploughman, Thomas Harding. After a model career as a convict, Harding received his free pardon in 1836 but in 1838 was convicted of stealing five one pound notes, knowing them to be stolen. This was the start of a criminal career which saw him absconding from road gangs twice, the second time successfully. Others who turned to stealing, in contrast to their earlier good records, were the Suffolk labourer Robert Kimmence (stealing sheep) and the Buckinghamshire paper maker Samuel Summerfield (breaking, entering and stealing coins). The sad careers of the two female machine

breakers Margaret Parker and Elizabeth Studenham have already been recounted *supra*.

To conclude, however, the rate of backsliding among the machine breakers of between two and three per cent still measures up very well against the re-conviction rate of twenty per cent for all emancipists at this time in Van Diemen's Land.<sup>670</sup>

### **The Impact of Transportation And Assignment Upon the Young Machine Breakers**

A study of the careers of the sixty machine breakers transported on the *Proteus* and the *Eliza* who were twenty one years or younger leads to a very firm conclusion that the younger transportees were not appreciably more likely to be adversely affected by the convict experience because of their youth and immaturity. Apart from the fact that the only three recorded instances of machine breakers being convicted of the unforgivable and selfish crime of stealing a fellow prisoner's food involved young machine breakers (George Binstead, Edward Nutbean and James Miles), the experiences of these sixty unfortunates reflected very closely the lives of their older counterparts. In particular, it must be remembered that most of the offences committed by convict machine breakers were breaches of colonial regulations (such as insubordination and failing to muster for church) and were rarely crimes in the generally understood sense. The fact that the younger machine breakers' convict records reflected those of their older shipmates reinforces the conclusion that the convict experience did not brutalise these young men.

Some of the most successful emancipated machine breakers emerged from the ranks of the younger ones - including Mathias Alexander, James Ford, Samuel Morey (the Younger) and William Webb. Equally, some of the most serious criminal records are found among their ranks - including Charles Burge, George Davey, John Legg and John Pagden. In-between fell the rest, who covered the full range of convict and post-emancipation behaviours. Their conviction rates for insolence, idleness, and drunkenness, for example, reflected those of their older counterparts and they certainly were no worse than them on average.

It is instructive, for example, to consider the career of Edward Charles Nutbean, a Hampshire ploughman who was only eighteen when he was transported. Upon arrival Nutbean was assigned to William Leith, a former Colonial Inspector of Public Works and by then a large grantee in the north of the colony. For almost eighteen months, Nutbean worked for Leith without a problem, but at some point in time he was transferred to work on a road party. Then, in December 1833, he was convicted of pilfering bread from his fellow prisoners and sentenced to an additional five months imprisonment and recommended to be sent to a chain gang. He was sent to the Notmans Road Gang, named after its notorious overseer Bobby Notman:

who used to make the unfortunate prisoners work all day up to their waists in water, half-starve them, not allow them a smoke of tobacco, and when they grumbled have them conveyed to the nearest magistrate, who resided at

<sup>670</sup> A.G.L. Shaw, *Convicts and the Colonies*, p.228.

Westbury, where they would be charged with disobedience, and if the charge was proved – which, as a matter of course it were – these unfortunate men were flogged and taken back to work.<sup>671</sup>

Over the next five months Nutbean suffered the lash three times and imprisonment once. Conditions must have been deplorable on this chain gang and the likelihood of a young convict being brutalized by the Convict System would have been great. Yet, after his release from Notman's Gang and his assignment to Joseph Carder, Nutbean committed no further offences. He received a free pardon in 1836 and remained in the colony for another ten years. Again, during this lengthy post-emancipation period, he did not commit any offences.

If there were any particular observations to be made about the younger machine breakers, they would be that three of them died within the first six months of arriving in Van Diemen's Land, which represents half of the total deaths from the *Eliza* cargo, (although they represented less than one fifth of the total contingent ) and that, after emancipation, they were more likely to leave the colony to seek their fortunes than their older fellow machine breakers.

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<sup>671</sup> D. Griffin ("The Tramp"), *The Daily Telegraph*, 14 October 1893.

## PART 6

### THE PLACE OF THE MACHINE BREAKERS IN CONVICT HISTORY

#### In The Nineteenth Century

Although they numbered less than 340 men (or, with the *Eleanor*, less than 480) the transported machine breakers have had an exaggerated impact on convict history- even though, in so many ways, they did not fit the mould of the typical convict.

#### Arthur's view of the Machine Breakers

From the date of their arrival in the colony, Arthur appears to have taken a particular interest in the machine breakers - or at least he did so in the *Eliza* men. But his instructions to the Deputy Principal Superintendent and the Colonial Surgeon to prepare special reports on their behaviour and general health<sup>672</sup> may have been motivated by more than just an interest in their welfare.

One of the arguments made most strongly and repeatedly by Arthur to support the retention of transportation was that the dread of transportation worked as a means of preventing crime in England.<sup>673</sup> Although he conceded that the professional career criminals would "harden their minds against the consequence of a breach of the laws",<sup>674</sup> those who are ordinarily law abiding but may occasionally be tempted to commit a crime are likely to think twice about doing so if they know that the outcome may be transportation - "Dread of banishment is a natural emotion".<sup>675</sup>

The difficulty Arthur had with this argument, of course, was that he had little if any empirical evidence to support it- and little chance of gathering it while he was at the other end of the world from England. The arrival of the machine breakers in 1831 represented an opportunity to gather and present such evidence, which is what he did.

The medical evidence sought by Arthur from the Colonial Surgeon (which suggested a high number of early deaths among the machine breakers) and his own observations of their demeanour were frequently referred to by him in correspondence and in conversation over the next six years.

His earliest recorded reference to the *Eliza* men was in a letter to Goderich in February 1833:

If, my lord, the evidence of conduct of particular individuals can be relied on as proof of the efficiency or non-efficiency of transportation, I am sure that a strong case indeed, could be made out in its favour. I might instance the rioters who

<sup>672</sup> CSO 1/524/11376, pages 118 and 120.

<sup>673</sup> See, for example, G. Arthur, *Observations Upon Secondary Punishment*, Hobart, 1833, pp. 32 and 38.

<sup>674</sup> *Ibid*, p.32

<sup>675</sup> *Ibid*

arrived by the *Eliza*, several of whom died almost immediately, induced apparently by despair. A great many of them went about dejected and stupefied with care and grief; and their situation, after assignment, was not for a long time much less unhappy.<sup>676</sup>

In *Observations upon Secondary Punishment*, published later that year, Arthur wrote:

Those who occasionally only commit crime, and the country people, as was sufficiently attested by the misery of the rioters and machine breakers, who arrived in the colony in 1831, several of whom as it appeared to the Colonial Surgeon died from diseases to which they had been predisposed by despair, regard it with a degree of horror, and are incapable of being taught that it *could* be advantageous to them.<sup>677</sup>

Similarly, Arthur used the example of the machine breakers to counter the argument that the poor agricultural labourer may think himself better off if he were transported.<sup>678</sup> He expressed these views to Governor Bourke, who passed them on to Stanley in 1834, thereby obtaining a degree of leverage for the argument:

I have been tempted to this digression from the main subject of this Despatch by the importunity with which the occasional superiority of the Convict over the unemployed poor at home in these respects is adduced as an objection to the existing system of transportation. The manner in which some of the machine breakers, who were lately sent to Van Diemen's Land, have been stated by Colonel Arthur to have felt the degradation of Banishment to which their punishment subjected them, sufficiently proves that, with reference to those whose sensibilities had not been blunted by a repeated course of crime, there are circumstances in the condition of a convict, which outweigh even those great deprivations which were endured by these poor people before they attempted this absurd mode of relieving themselves.<sup>679</sup>

His most often quoted reference to the machine breakers arose out the evidence he gave to the Molesworth Transportation Committee in 1837. It related to his assertion that the fear of transportation had a deterrent effect on crime in England- particularly among the rural class:

4326 *Is it your opinion that the agricultural population fear transportation much more than the London thieves?* - I was very much struck with the replies of the men who came out on the "*Eliza*"; they were very much affected, and I never saw men who appeared to suffer more than they did, and a great many of them were very dejected, and I am sorry to say a great many of them died.

<sup>676</sup> Arthur to Viscount Goderich, 8 February 1833, Referred to in Correspondence Appendix No.1 to Evidence Before the Select Committee (Transportation Committee Report), London 1837. Rudé (Captain Swing and VDL at p.15 ) repeats the Hammonds' incorrect assertion that the letter was despatched in March 1834.

<sup>677</sup> G. Arthur, *Observations*, p.32.

<sup>678</sup> Ibid, p.30

<sup>679</sup> Bourke to Stanley, 15 January 1834, *HRA Series I, Vol. XVII*, p.327



4328 *What was there peculiar in the convicts that arrived by the "Eliza"? - They seemed to feel more deeply than any other convicts I ever saw the punishment to which they were subjected.*

4336 (Sir George Grey) *With respect to those convicts that were sent by the "Eliza", was it the dread of suffering that produced that despondency in their minds, or was it a sense of the degradation which they felt from not having been accustomed to commit crime, and from having been transported for crimes committed in the heat of the moment? - I am quite satisfied it was from a sense of the degrading situation in which they were placed.*

4337 *Of course, it would be much less, if it existed at all, in the case of a hardened London thief, than it was in the case of those convicts who were transported in the "Eliza"? - No doubt of it.*<sup>680</sup>

Although it is quite likely that the machine breakers did despair of their circumstances during their early months in the colony, Arthur's assertion that a great many of them died through illness brought on by this despair must be treated with caution. It is true that six of the 224 *Eliza* men had died by the end of 1831, but one was due to an industrial accident and another two were already critically ill with consumption contracted on the long sea voyage when they disembarked in Hobart Town. The causes of death of the other three (including the youngest transported machine breaker, the 16 year old Jeremiah New) are unknown.

The Committee was not swayed by Arthur's arguments about the despair felt by the machine breakers; one of their conclusions was that the Transportation System failed to deter ordinary people from committing crimes.<sup>681</sup> There is also some irony in the fact that Arthur probably oversold the apparent despair of the machine breakers to the Committee - to the detriment of the Transportation System. The Committee concluded that the "vague and ignorant horror" with which agricultural labourers regarded transportation was a feeling they could "hardly think it desirable to encourage" through the continuation of transportation.<sup>682</sup>

Caution must also be used when deliberating upon another assertion made by Arthur about the machine breakers. In *Observations Upon Secondary Punishment*, he responded to the objection that the close association of bad characters during the voyage out to the colonies would lead to additional contamination of some convicts who may otherwise have been capable of reform. He wrote:

The objection to the deportation of criminals is also the less valid as during the voyage they are generally kept in an excellent state of discipline by the Surgeons Superintendent, and that little additional contamination is contracted by any at that time is almost proved by the circumstance that the farm labourers sometimes sent out for rioting and machine breaking retain for the most part on

<sup>680</sup> Transportation Committee Report, *Evidence Before the Select Committee*, p.291.

<sup>681</sup> J. Ritchie, *Towards Ending an Unclean Thing: The Molesworth Committee and the Abolition of Transportation to NSW, 1837-1840*, *Historical Studies*, Vol 17, No.67, p.144 at p.151.

<sup>682</sup> W. D. Forsyth, *Governor Arthur's Convict System Van Diemen's Land 1824-1836*, p.162

their arrival their original simplicity and a disposition to conduct themselves honestly.<sup>683</sup>

The fact is that there was never any chance of contamination of the machine breakers during the voyage of either the *Proteus* or the *Eliza* (or the *Eleanor*, for that matter) because of a complete lack of contaminating company on either vessel. Machine breakers comprised the entire cargo on the *Eliza* and almost the entire cargo on the *Proteus*. In the latter case, the fourteen non-machine breakers on board the *Proteus* appear to have been selected as above average convicts and the surgeon's report indicates they were always well behaved. Arthur's efforts to rely on their shipboard experience is not well founded.

As noted above, primarily because of Arthur's interest in them, accounts and observations of the machine breakers' convict experience continued to play a role in the Transportation Debate. Arthur was not the only one to alight on their convict experience as an opportunity to make various points about Transportation or the Assignment System. The Archdeacon of New South Wales (Venerable William Grant Broughton) also referred to them in his "*Communication Upon Convict Discipline of Van Diemen's Land*", which was published with Arthur's own "*Observations*" in 1833.<sup>684</sup>

One of the Archdeacon's observations on the Assignment System was that, once a convict was assigned, the system operated as a perfectly equal punishment for all, taking no account of the nature of the convict's original crime:

...the punishment falls heaviest upon the one who has the most virtuous feelings and affections remaining. I know this to be the case among one particular class of prisoners; the machine breakers as they were termed, from the southern counties of England. The greater number of these men, up to the period of committing the outrage, appear to have been leading the frugal, hard-working, sober life of the English peasantry; and were literally betrayed into momentary outrage by representations of which, many of them have assured me, they now understand the fallacy. The mental sufferings of these men, comparing them with poachers and other desperate characters from their own class, and much more with regular thieves hardened in vice, have been very great indeed. ....the number of deaths among the individuals in question, has been far beyond the average of prisoners of any other description in the same space of time. It is scarcely possible, I should think, that this mournful peculiarity can be attributed to any cause but one. All of these men were assigned to masters who would treat them very well; and mere hard work could not ...have been very oppressive to those who had been brought up to it all their lives. And if the effect of time have quieted the apprehensions of such as survive, and have arrested that unusual progress of mortality, I am

<sup>683</sup> G. Arthur, *Observations Upon Secondary Punishment*, p. 14

<sup>684</sup> This was not the first time that Archdeacon Broughton had co-operated with Arthur on a project. In 1830 he chaired the colony's Aborigines Committee, which had been appointed by Arthur to inquire into the origins of the hostility displayed by the Aborigines against the settlers and to recommend measures to address the problem. See L Ryan, *The Aboriginal Tasmanians*, St Leonards 1996, pp 106-107.

persuaded that none of these will send home even now such a description of what has befallen them as shall tempt others to imitate their crime in the hope of sharing their condition.<sup>685</sup>

Although carrying the weight of a senior man of the cloth, this passage is open to debate, in the same way that Arthur's "*Observations*" are.

It is doubtful whether many or even any of the machine breakers ever told the Archdeacon that they believed they were betrayed or deceived into rioting. No other contemporary, including Arthur, has ever recorded that any of the transported machine breakers said they believed they were led astray in late 1830. Many were shocked by the severity of the sentences they received and regretted finding themselves reduced to convictism, but none ever claimed they had been innocent dupes. They appear instead to have resolutely maintained that what they did was not a crime.

There is some evidence that one machine breaker convict may have expressed regret at being swayed by political extremists during the riots, but the circumstances surrounding this evidence make it highly suspect.

When the quaker missionaries James Backhouse and George Washington Walker were leaving Norfolk Island in April 1835, a number of the convicts asked them to take letters to their families back in England.<sup>686</sup> One of these men, the authors wrote, was a former non-commissioned officer in the Army who was first transported to Van Diemen's Land for "insurrection" in Yorkshire and subsequently for forging his name to a deed in Van Diemen's Land. In the letter to his wife, the convict expressed concern about the fate of his children:

Never let them read any political works. Keep their minds from being entangled with political men, and their productions. This, you will not need to be told, has been the prelude to all my present misery.<sup>687</sup>

Hughes claims that the author of this letter was a Swing rioter.<sup>688</sup> There is no evidence that the writer was in fact a Swing rioter, and in any event there was only limited Swing activity in Yorkshire. Nevertheless, if it were to be accepted that the writer had been involved in some way in the riots and subsequently transported, there are strong reasons for treating his letter expressing regret at his involvement in political causes with great caution. It is in fact highly likely that the unknown writer deliberately included this passage – along with others described below – as a means of ensuring that his letter was accepted and delivered to his wife in England.

In their book, Backhouse and Walker admitted that it was a condition of their being permitted to accept the letters that they were to be first read by the commandant of the

<sup>685</sup> G. W. Broughton, *A Communication Upon the Convict Discipline of Van Diemen's Land by the Archdeacon of New South Wales*, James Ross, Hobart Town, 1833, p. 59.

<sup>686</sup> J Backhouse and G Walker, *A Narrative of a Visit to the Australian Colonies*, London 1843, p.281.

<sup>687</sup> Ibid, Appendix J, Letter No. 3.

<sup>688</sup> R. Hughes, *The Fatal Shore*, p.201.

prison in order to ensure “that nothing improper was communicated”.<sup>689</sup> In addition to the above expression of regret at being led astray by political extremists in England, the convict also wrote that Norfolk Island was not the “earthly hell” which “vindictive writers” have described it as, that Major Anderson the commandant (and censor of the letter) was given to “humanity” and “goodness”, that Arthur’s authority in Van Diemen’s Land was “wisely instituted” and that the colonial newspapers which criticized him were merely a “licentious press”.

This was an extraordinary letter for any convict to write, and must be treated with great caution. In particular, the references to Major Anderson are at odds with the generally held view of this strict martinet. For example, the only confirmed machine breaker who left behind an account of Major Anderson painted a very different picture of the man. Thomas Cook was convicted of writing two Swing letters in March 1831 and was transported to New South Wales. He was convicted of further offences of forgery in 1836 and was sentenced to Norfolk Island, where he stayed until 1841. Cook left behind a lengthy account of the penal reforms that were implemented by Captain Andrew Maconochie, who was Anderson’s replacement on the island<sup>690</sup>. In his account, which was not published until 1978, Cook was highly critical of Anderson’s brutality and, most of the time could not even bring himself to mention the commandant’s name, merely referring to him as ‘the officer who took command in 1834’.<sup>691</sup>

The calculated praise heaped upon Anderson and Arthur by the anonymous convict did, however, ensure that the letter was delivered to his wife in Yorkshire.

Equally the Archdeacon’s assertion, like Arthur’s, that the machine breakers as a group suffered fatalities far beyond the average in their early days, is suspect. As mentioned above, there were a small number of deaths in the first six months on the island (six in all) but at least one died as a result of an industrial accident, two died of consumption caught on the voyage out, and the causes of death of the other three are unknown. There were only three further deaths between the beginning of 1832 and June 1833 when Broughton wrote his letter which, out of a total complement of 322, is not high.

As to the Archdeacon’s belief that no machine breaker would ever write home in glowing terms of conditions in Van Diemen’s Land, the early letters of Peter Withers and Richard Dillingham and, by inference, the letters of Thomas Vinen, belie that assertion. The fact that so many children or siblings of machine breakers came out to the colonies to join their fathers or brothers suggests that some of those machine breakers must have also written glowing reports about conditions in the colony to their relatives in southern England.

### **In the Twentieth and Twenty First Centuries**

<sup>689</sup> Backhouse and Walker, *A Narrative of a Visit to the Australian Colonies*, p. 281.

<sup>690</sup> T Cook, *The Exile’s Lamentations*, Library of Australian History, 1978.

<sup>691</sup> See, for example, *Ibid*, pp 60 and 70.

After a significant gap, the machine breakers re-appeared as figures in the Convict Debate in the early part of the twentieth century. The Hammonds first wrote about them in *The Village Labourer* in 1911. They inflated these men and their cause of conscience to heroic proportions. The most often quoted passage from *The Village Labourer* is their characterisations as 'village Hampdens':

During the years between Waterloo and the Reform Bill the governing class was decimating the village populations on the principle of the Greek tyrant who flicked off the heads of the tallest blades in his field; the Game Laws, summary jurisdiction, special commissions, drove men of spirit and enterprise, the natural leaders of their fellows, from the villages where they might have troubled the peace of their masters. The village Hampdens of that generation sleep by the shores of Botany Bay. Those who blame the supine character of the English labourer forget that his race, before it had quite lost the memories and the habits of the days of its independence and its shame in the commons, was passed through this sieve.<sup>692</sup>

In the early part of the twentieth century, some Liberal Australian historians desired to portray convicts as more sinned against than sinning, and as the victims of an unfair penal code.<sup>693</sup> This theme was picked up in Australia most enthusiastically by Professor George Arnold Wood (who was in fact an Englishman). In 1922 he published his famous *Convicts*.<sup>694</sup> Because he relied heavily and uncritically on the Hammonds' work to buttress his case, the machine breakers became significant figures in the debate.

Wood's argument, which reflected a strong Australian nationalism, was that the English aristocracy were a worthless, amoral group who used Transportation as a means of ridding themselves of troublemakers (who were, in his view, in fact the backbone of the country) - particularly the likes of the machine breakers:

Aristocrats sent convicts to New South Wales, not because convicts were more immoral than aristocrats, but because convicts were men who in various ways disturbed the comfort of aristocrats. They hanged as many of them as their notions of decency permitted, and those who could not, in their opinion, decently be hanged, they branded with the convict brand and shipped to Botany Bay.....The convicts who were regarded with greatest bitterness were political and social reformers, for they sought to destroy the very basis of aristocratic rule.<sup>695</sup>

Wood supports this statement with accounts of the Scottish Reformers in 1793, the Tolpuddle Martyrs ("another typical group of convicts") and finally the machine breakers. In discussing the last group, Wood makes generous use of the Hammonds'

<sup>692</sup> Hammonds, *The Village Labourer*, p. 239.

<sup>693</sup> Rudé, *Protest and Punishment*, p.238 See also D. Oxley "Convict Maids", at p. 2 - "These people were not deplorable, aberrant criminals, but admirable political rebels and morally innocent village Hampdens".

<sup>694</sup> G. A. Wood, *Convicts*, *JRAHS*, Vol 8, No.4,(1922), p.187.

<sup>695</sup> *Ibid*, p.181

work, including their "shores of Botany Bay" statement.<sup>696</sup> There is a certain sense of irony in the fact that the machine breakers are grouped with social reformers; they were if anything the conservative rural backlash against change. After describing the admittedly harsh reaction of the Government in having so many hanged or transported, Wood demonizes the motives of Melbourne and others by stating "The only fear of the Government was that transportation would prove an insufficient punishment and deterrent. They communicated this fear to Governor Arthur of Van Diemen's Land - of infamous memory. Governor Arthur assured them that the fear was groundless."<sup>697</sup>

The ominous assurance that Arthur is purported to have given was in fact a statement that he made about Transportation in general; it is taken out of context and has nothing to do with the machine breakers. In repeating it, Wood was merely reinforcing an error made by the Hammonds. He also referred<sup>698</sup> to Arthur's oft-quoted statement about the number of deaths among the *Eliza* men in their early months of assignment. But whereas Arthur had meant to thereby demonstrate that ordinarily law-abiding Englishman did genuinely fear transportation (and thus invoking its deterrent qualities), Wood characterised Arthur's words as a reassuring confirmation to the Home Office of the effectiveness of transportation for more permanently ridding itself of troublemakers through bringing about their deaths - "As for these agricultural rioters, their story, the Governor explained, gave an admirable proof of the 'efficiency' of transportation".<sup>699</sup>

Wood also refers with approval to Marcus Clarke's novel *For the Term of His Natural Life* as an accurate depiction of convict life.

He concluded, in respect of the machine breakers and the Tolpuddle Martyrs:

Does anyone now consider that the labourers who sailed to Australia with the convict brand upon them surpassed in moral wickedness the politicians, lawyers, and bishops who put that convict brand upon them? Is it not clearly a fact that the atrocious criminals remained in England, while their victims, innocent and manly, founded the Australian democracy?<sup>700</sup>

In preparing the article Wood did not, his biographer admits, read any of the convict indents which would have quickly raised doubts in his mind about the accuracy of the Hammonds' conclusions.<sup>701</sup> Wood instead relied heavily on the *Historical Records of Australia* and the Molesworth Committee Report of 1838 for his research.<sup>702</sup>

Wood was in fact probably lucky to get the article published; even the editor of the *Journal* informed him with some irritation (and not a small dose of sarcasm) that apparently no one of any quality had remained in England - because according to

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<sup>696</sup> Ibid, p.185

<sup>697</sup> Ibid, p.187.

<sup>698</sup> Ibid, p.187

<sup>699</sup> Ibid, p.187

<sup>700</sup> Ibid, p.187.

<sup>701</sup> R.M. Crawford, *A Bit of a Rebel: the Life and Work of George Arnold Wood*, SUP, 1975, p.333.

<sup>702</sup> D. Oxley, *Convict Maids*, p.4.

Wood they had all been transported to Australia.<sup>703</sup> In 1921, he posed the question to a meeting of the Royal Australian Historical Society – “Did any convict family ever live more disreputable in respect to personal morality than the royal family of England?”

Nevertheless, Wood’s 1922 article clearly struck a chord with many Australians and it represented a strongly held view in the Convict Debate for a lengthy period. His views, for example, were echoed by D.F.M. Cubis in 1939<sup>704</sup> and Rudé believes that in particular it coloured T. J. Kiernan’s view when he published his works about the early Irish rebels in 1954.<sup>705</sup> Consequently, it also coloured the generally held view of the machine breakers and their place in Convict History.

Argued less successfully, and by a different group of observers, was the theme that the experience of the men of the *Eliza* and the *Proteus* was confirmatory evidence of the argument that the Assignment system was a form of slavery. K. M. Dallas, for example, wrote “the essential slavery of the system is [also] exposed by the attempts to apply it wholesale to men who were not servile.”<sup>706</sup> He believes the success of the directors of the Van Diemen’s Land Company in managing to secure the services of so many machine breakers for their estates was evidence of its grim nature. Even the fact that the Home Government, and more particularly Arthur, contrived to limit the number of Gloucestershiremen that the Company received was explained as being further evidence of its essential nature as slavery:

They got only twenty-five; other settlers knew what high grade labourers these were- men who could not be hoped for through normal slave trade channels like petty crime and poverty. When the opportunity came to deport wholesale from a region where labour was becoming redundant (the introduction of threshing machines shows that) to one where it was neither cheap nor skilled, it was seized with indecent haste. The conclusion is that these rebellious workers were sold down the river by a Magistrate and MP that a Company which he governed might prosper.....While scholars seek to compute the amount of crime in the ‘lower orders’ only, all history is perverted.<sup>707</sup>

Dallas also referred to the ‘grief and despair’ addresses made by Arthur about the *Eliza* men and wrote “To cite such a special group to prove the virtues of a system, from one who was profiting from it, was just as dishonest as the decisions of interested magistrates”. He proceeded to draw the analogy between the fate of the machine breakers and the Canadian rebels of 1837, whom Arthur consigned to Van Diemen’s Land while lieutenant governor of Upper Canada.<sup>708</sup>

<sup>703</sup> L.L. Robson, The Convict Cargo Re-inspected, *Bulletin of the Centre for Tasmanian Historical Studies*, Vol.2, No.1, 1988, p.31. This article also includes a useful critique of *Convicts*.

<sup>704</sup> D.F.M. Cubis, *Australian Character in the Making of New South Wales, 1788-1901*, JRAHS, vol.24, 1938, pp 165-84. Referred to by Robson in *The Convict Cargo Re-inspected*, p.31..

<sup>705</sup> Rudé, *Protest and Punishment*, p. 238.

<sup>706</sup> K.M. Dallas, Slavery in Australia - Convicts, Emigrants and Aborigines, *THRA P&P*, vol.16, no.2, 1968, p.68.

<sup>707</sup> *Ibid*, p.69.

<sup>708</sup> *Ibid*.

The arguments of Dallas are open to criticism. He ignores the very strong political imperative driving Melbourne to get the machine breakers out of England as quickly as possible. In addition, although there was clearly great utilitarian interest among settlers in having machine breakers assigned to them, this self interest motive does not mean that the entire Transportation and Assignment Systems were solely driven by the intention to provide cheap labour in the colonies. Dallas and others also conveniently overlook that most of the machine breakers served only a small part of their sentences before receiving full free pardons. If Government opportunism and colonial self interest were driving the process, then logic would dictate that the valuable machine breakers should be retained, either on assignment or as ticket of leave holders, for as long as possible in the colony – and certainly not provided with any early remissions or free pardons, as opposed to conditional pardons. A free pardon permitted them to seek paid employment or leave the colonies and return home, thereby potentially depriving the colonies of their services completely.

Wood's view of convicts was popular, perhaps largely due to a healthy dose of wishful thinking by many Australian readers<sup>709</sup> until an analytical, statistical approach has been more recently adopted by Australian historians to assist in unwrapping the convict persona.

Shaw first expressed the view in a 1953 newspaper article that most convicts, far from being innocent victims of an unjust system, were "urban thieves, pickpockets and shoplifters, the product of urban overcrowding and unemployment."<sup>710</sup> This view was based upon the analytical research he had been carrying out at the time of convict records.

This was followed up two years later in 1955 by Manning Clark expressing reservations about Wood's conclusions.<sup>711</sup> Noting in particular the earlier historian's uncritical acceptance of the Hammonds' assertions, Manning Clark concluded that, statistically, agricultural labourers were very rare transportees, except in the year following the Swing riots.

In 1965, Robson, who had carried out the most comprehensive analysis of convicts to date, disagreed with Wood's findings although he was more willing to accept that many convicts were not the ne'er do wells described by Shaw. Balancing the Hammonds' and Shaw's descriptors, he wrote "The convicts were neither simply 'village Hampdens' nor merely 'ne'er do wells from the city slums'. But if the Hampdens are placed on one side of a scale and ne'er do wells on the other side, the scale must tip toward the ne'er do wells".<sup>712</sup> Unfortunately, he did not indicate how far the scales would tip.

<sup>709</sup> D. Kent, *Popular Radicalism and the Swing Riots in Central Hampshire*, Hampshire Papers, Issue no.11, 1997.

<sup>710</sup> A.G.L. Shaw, *Sydney Morning Herald*, 29 June 1953 (Referred to by G.Rudé, *Protest and Punishment*, p.239).

<sup>711</sup> C. Manning Clark, *The Origins of the Convicts Transported to Eastern Australia, 1787 - 1852*, Pt.2, *Historical Studies*, Vol.7, 1955-6, pp.319-320.

<sup>712</sup> L.L. Robson, *The Convict Settlers of Australia*, , p.135.



In 1966, Shaw's *Convicts and the Colonies* finally appeared. He described Wood as the most outspoken academic exponent of the innocent convict argument "which is now firmly embedded in the national ethos; where it will doubtless remain for generations" but, on the basis of his own research, he dismissed Wood's views.<sup>713</sup> He concluded that most convicts were in fact ne'er do wells, stimulated to crime by low wages, a bad poor law, bad living conditions, periodical unemployment, lack of education and non-existent family life.

As recently as 1998, Shaw considered all the historical work which had been undertaken in the intervening years since he wrote *Convicts and the Colonies*, and he re-affirmed his belief in this basic conclusion.<sup>714</sup> The machine breakers represented the largest group within the one thousand - odd convicts whom Shaw was willing to classify as political prisoners. As noted previously, he regarded the Swing rioters as "a different kettle of fish" from the average petty criminal convicts.<sup>715</sup>

Reference should be made at this stage in the evolution of literature on convictism to the publication in 1987 of Robert Hughes' widely read *The Fatal Shore*.<sup>716</sup> It has been rightly criticised by many eminent historians for its heavy focus on the fearful incidents which occurred during the Transportation Era, providing a very slanted view of the convict experience and adding nothing new to our knowledge – an observation which holds true for his references to the machine breakers in particular. Robson described the book as "a popular history stuffed full of tales of horror...to supply the demand of the history-starved Australian colonists"<sup>717</sup> and Shaw has more recently described it as "too much a regurgitation of the traditional horrors of the system".<sup>718</sup> Hughes does briefly consider the 1800 odd convicts transported for crimes of protest, including the machine breakers,<sup>719</sup> although he glosses over the various causes and dimensions to their particular protest.

In discussing the machine breakers, Hughes chose to dwell on the disproportion between the nature of the machine breakers' protest and the harsh sentences handed down on them in 1831 by the Home Government as it struggled with a fantastic fear of insurrection,<sup>720</sup> and the obvious drama of the anonymous Swing letters.<sup>721</sup> He contributed little that was new about the machine breakers and mostly relied upon views and material drawn from Rudé's *Protest and Punishment*, and Rudé and Hobsbawm's *Captain Swing*. His only contribution was to draw a few long historical bows which enabled him to quote from the letters of convicts such as Richard Dillingham, Thomas Cook and the anonymous former non-commissioned officer on

<sup>713</sup> A.G.L. Shaw, *Convicts and the Colonies*, p.146-7, 164.

<sup>714</sup> A.G.L. Shaw, *The Convict Question*, 1966 and 1998, *Tasmanian Historical Studies*, Vol.6, No 2 1999, p.4

<sup>715</sup> A.G.L. Shaw, *Convicts and the Colonies*, p.229.

<sup>716</sup> R. Hughes, *The Fatal Shore*, London 1987.

<sup>717</sup> L Robson, *The Convict Cargo Re-inspected*, *Centre for Tasmanian Historical Studies*, vol 2, 1988, p.31

<sup>718</sup> A. G. L. Shaw, *The Convict Question* 1966 and 1998, *Tasmanian Historical Studies*, vol 6, no.2, 1999, p.11

<sup>719</sup> Hughes, *The Fatal Shore*, p.197.

<sup>720</sup> Ibid.

<sup>721</sup> Ibid, p.198.

Norfolk Island as exemplars of machine breakers' correspondence. As noted above, it is unlikely that any of these men were actually machine breakers.

Although Wood's view has nowadays been overwhelmed by statistical data about convicts as amassed by a number of authoritative historians and which now represents the orthodoxy<sup>722</sup> it has been far from extinguished.

Equally, the role of the machine breakers in that debate is continuing.

Wood's biographer, Raymond Crawford, has more recently felt compelled to not so much rise to defend Wood's views, but rather to explain their context and in doing so, help keep the debate alive to some extent.<sup>723</sup> He points out that *Convicts* was in fact an edited version of one chapter of a book Wood unsuccessfully sought to have published, dealing with the early history of New South Wales. It and other chapters were ultimately published in the *Journal of the Royal Australian Historical Society*. Crawford explains that the piece-meal editing and publication of Wood's manuscript "betrayed him into a too emphatic generalization which was a digression from his main theme and weakened its force".<sup>724</sup> Generally speaking, Crawford argues, Wood accepted that convicts were petty criminals. But the ruthless journal editing process had left the accounts of the machine breakers (and the Tolpuddle Martyrs) in an overly prominent position in the article, appearing just before his judgement of convicts as a whole. In fact, Crawford explains, Wood was responding to the continuing sensitiveness of Australians of his generation about the 'birth-stain' of convictism and his own strong feelings about the injustices and oppressions of eighteenth (*sic*)-century England.

Crawford believes there is nevertheless some support for Wood's conclusions in Robson's research. He points to Robson's statement that the scales are tipped in favour of Shaw's ne'er do wells - but without an indication of how far - as vindication for the conclusion that many convicts, but not necessarily the majority, were village Hampdens - prisoners of conscience.<sup>725</sup> Perhaps deliberately, this thin line of argument is not developed further by Crawford.

McQueen, who also regards the machine breakers as political convicts, takes a different interpretation of Robson but reaches the same tentative conclusion. He believes that Robson restricted himself unnecessarily in his interpretation of political convicts to include only the usual, well-known transportees such as the Chartists, Tolpuddle Martyrs, Scottish Rebels and the machine breakers. In doing so, he ignores those whose crimes reveal a similar kind of rebelliousness:

The political influence of the convicts cannot be determined by their indent papers alone. A man might be a thief and a rebel from the same cause; and if he is transported as a thief that does not obliterate his rebelliousness.<sup>726</sup>

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<sup>722</sup> A. Davidson, Book Review of *Convict Workers*, *Historical Studies*, Vol 23, Oct. 1989.

<sup>723</sup> R. M. Crawford, *A Bit of a Rebel: the Life and works of George Arnold Wood*, SUP, Sydney, 1975.

<sup>724</sup> *Ibid*, p.332.

<sup>725</sup> *Ibid*, p.333

<sup>726</sup> H. McQueen, *Convicts and Rebels*, *Labour History*, No. 15, Nov.1968, p. 3.

McQueen found that the machine breakers did not continue their protest in New South Wales and Van Diemen's Land, principally because few of them were true radical or political protesters in the first place and they quickly became absorbed into the colonies which provided them with opportunities to achieve their desired ends (a full stomach) without the need for political or social action.<sup>727</sup>

Recently, however, David Kent has expressed the opinion that in accepting the current orthodoxy about convicts, and even the view expressed above by McQueen, there is a risk that sight will be lost of the fact that some of the machine breaking was overtly politically motivated, and that a small number of political activists were at work during the riots and subsequently transported to the colonies:

..... in correcting the popular mythology of political martyrdom for *all* convicts, historians seem to have lost sight of the fact that for *some*, like the Hampshire men sentenced to exile for their part in the protests of 1830, Australia was truly a British *Gulag*.<sup>728</sup>

Here, Kent is referring to the riots in the Dever Valley, led by the Mason brothers. Although it is true that the Dever Valley disturbances were better orchestrated than elsewhere in the counties the simple fact is that none of the Dever Valley men sent to the colonies, and in particular those sent to Van Diemen's Land, showed any interest at all in political issues once they arrived. These men were not the stuff of revolutions – in fact the majority of them freely chose to stay in the 'Gulag' once they received their freedom. In addition, as mentioned supra, there is some evidence that even in the Dever Valley, issues such as food carried equal importance with any social or political doctrine.

What is relevant is, not that the colonies could be seen as a form of British 'Gulag', (with its invocation of political indoctrination and specialized punishment) but that there were a small number of radicals amongst the machine breakers, and their characterization as such should remain- even if their later careers did not reflect such leanings again.

It is common for historians to observe, almost with a tinge of regret, that the machine breakers failed to continue through with their social protest values in the new colonies.<sup>729</sup>

Rudé and Hobsbawm observed:

By and large, as we have seen, these men stood out from their fellow-convicts both by the nature of their crime and by their general respectability and high moral character. But there is nothing in their later careers to suggest that they brought with them from England any particular ideology, or particular opinions or outlook, that mark them off from other settlers, whether free or bond, in the

<sup>727</sup> Ibid, p.20. Hughes expresses the same conclusion in almost identical terms at p. 197.

<sup>728</sup> D. Kent, *Popular Radicalism and the Swing Riots in Central Hampshire*, p.3.

<sup>729</sup> See, for example, H. McQueen, *Convicts and Rebels*

Australian colonies. The tradition of "Captain Swing" appears to have died with their conviction and transportation...<sup>730</sup>

In some respects, these kinds of assessment are unfair and ignore the archaic, village-based nature of the relatively peaceful forms of protest engaged in by the machine breakers. These men were not, in the main, politically motivated or even interested in politics. Only four machine breakers transported to Van Diemen's Land appear to have ever displayed an involvement in politics of any description. In every case, their interest was limited to local government politics. The only one to hold an elected position in Van Diemen's Land was Thomas Burbury, who was elected to the Oatlands Municipal Council in 1862. Even his connection to the machine breakers is tenuous as he was active in the tail-end of the disturbances and his machine breaking took place in a factory, not a farm shed. The second was the Hampshire tailor William Webb who, in his obituary in the Hobart *Mercury*, was described as having an interest in local politics. The extent of this interest is unclear, however, and he certainly never held an elected position on a local council in the Southern Midlands area, where he lived for most of his life. The third was the Wiltshire ploughman William Bartlett, who sailed with his family to Geelong, where he became a farmer and served as a member of the first Road Rates Board (the early form of a local government council) for the Shire of Winchelsea.

The final one was another Wiltshire ploughman, Thomas Gange, who sailed to Port Phillip with his wife and two children in 1839. In 1844, they were hired by Anne Drysdale and Caroline Newcomb, the "Lady Squatters of Geelong" to manage their large property of Coryule.<sup>731</sup> Both spinsters, Anne Drysdale was a determined Scottish woman who had built up a large property in Scotland before emigrating to Port Phillip and Caroline Newcomb was an English immigrant to Van Diemen's Land who had accompanied John Batman and his family to Port Phillip as governess for his two daughters in April 1836. In due course, the Lady Squatters gifted Gange a large corner of their property, where he established Garrangil Farm. Gange went on to serve on the local road rates board and then later on the shire council.

There could be at least one echo of political activism from the Dever Valley a few generations removed from the machine breakers. In 1830, the three brothers James, Charles and George Batt were agricultural labourers in the village of Barton Stacey. This Hampshire village was one of the major centres of unrest in the Dever Valley during the riots. There is no evidence that James Batt was actually involved in the disturbances, but his two brothers were. Fortunately, both were acquitted,<sup>732</sup> so none of the Batt family sailed to Van Diemen's Land in 1831. It is highly likely that James was involved in the rioting, notwithstanding the fact that he was not charged. In 1837 James was transported to the colony for stealing. After receiving a conditional pardon he became a farm labourer. Subsequently two of his sons, Charles and William, were also transported. Both sons became farmers and one of his grandsons became heavily involved in Labor Party politics in Tasmania. He is the Honourable Charles Batt, who

<sup>730</sup> Hobsbawm and Rudé, *Captain Swing*, p.279.

<sup>731</sup> J. Richardson, *The Lady Squatters*, Bellarine City Council, Drysdale 1986, p. 28.

<sup>732</sup> PRO HO 130/1

served in both the Tasmanian House of Assembly and the Legislative Council and for some years served as the Deputy Leader and then Leader of the Government in the Upper House.

In any event, the Swing riots were instances of group protest, and the Assignment System in Van Diemen's Land ensured that the machine breakers were spread thinly across the countryside, making group protest difficult if not impossible. They would also only take action to enforce what they saw as their existing rights, not to secure new privileges or rights.

Yet, when machine breakers were gathered together in any numbers and felt their existing rights were being abused, they could demonstrate that they had not lost their willingness to take group action in the colony – in fact, they would draw freely on their long tradition of rural protest to do so. The action of the Van Diemen's Land Company men in refusing to work on New Years Day, and in forwarding their applications for tickets of leave direct to the Superintendent of Convicts demonstrates this. There is also the less clear-cut, and certainly less salutary, action of John Ingram, in organizing a petition to Arthur on behalf of six assigned servants of John Archer, seeking their tickets of leave.

As individuals, they also showed they could take action to enforce their rights, although the opportunities to take singular action were meagre, and invariably laden with risk. Those machine breakers who formally complained to magistrates about poor rations being supplied by their masters are a good example. More difficult to analyse are the large number of convictions that machine breakers suffered for insolence, dereliction of work, and refusing to work. It would be unusual, however, if a number of those convictions did not hide small stories of convicts who were protesting against their treatment or what they felt their masters were unfairly requiring them to do.

There is even an echo, many years later, of Captain Swing in an incident which occurred on the north-west coast of the island. Mathias Alexander was one of the pioneers of the Wynyard district, with his brothers Joseph (a fellow machine breaker) and John (transported for stealing at a later date). He was a large landowner and licensee of the Table Cape Inn. When a Road Trust (the forerunner of the Wynyard Council) was established in the late 1850's it resolved to set very high rates for the major landowners in the area. Naturally, this affected the Alexanders more than anyone else. Mathias felt that the rates set for his properties were unfairly high. When the Road Trust inspectors were scheduled to come through his heavily timbered properties to carry out the levy assessment, he had his workmen fell large trees across all his roads, to hinder their passage<sup>733</sup> - symbolizing, perhaps, a distant resurrection of the non-violent spirit of the machine breakers from the *Proteus* and the *Eliza*.

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<sup>733</sup> J. Chambers, *Wiltshire Machine Breakers*, p.23

## CONCLUSIONS

The story of the machine breakers from the *Proteus* and the *Eliza* provides an opportunity to test or observe, through their accumulated experiences, several aspects of nineteenth century English and colonial history. Studying the gradual change in the role they played in the shaping of our view of the Transportation System through the nineteenth and the twentieth centuries also provides an opportunity to observe the way in which history itself can be gradually re-written.

In contemplating their place in history, however, we must not forget that this thesis is essentially about the accumulated experiences of almost 340 rural Englishmen who found themselves thrown to the other side of the world and in many respects left to fend for themselves. Their historical significance, therefore, should not be allowed to overshadow the human side of their remarkable story.

Although the engagement of the machine breakers in the Swing riots of late 1830 was almost universally voluntary, they subsequently became unwitting and reluctant actors in and witnesses to a number of events which occurred during this period of significant change in respect of the Home Government, transportation itself, and the development of the colonies.

The Swing riots took place just as a new king (William IV) and a new, reforming government (the Whigs, led by Earl Grey) were taking their places in England; nevertheless (or perhaps because of their newness and their need to assert their positions) the response of both institutions to the unrest was vigorous – leading to the Special Commissions and the transportation of large numbers of the rioters. More than two thirds of them were transported to Van Diemen's Land – on the *Proteus* and the *Eliza*.

The convict careers of the machine breakers cover the period between the installation of William IV and the Whig government (1830/1831), and the earliest sittings of the Transportation Committee in England (1837), with the first pardons for the machine breakers flowing shortly before the latter date as a consequence of the leniency finally afforded to the Tolpuddle Martyrs. Their careers also coincided with the last six years of Arthur's rule as Lieutenant-Governor of Van Diemen's Land. In fact, one of the first acts of Arthur's successor – Sir John Franklin – was also the final act of a vice regal representative in respect of the machine breakers (this being a reminder letter sent in early 1837 to Glenelg about the handful of *Proteus* men who had apparently been forgotten by Whitehall). The granting of freedom to most of the machine breakers coincided with the establishment of the colony of Port Phillip, and a large number went on to play a role in its development, as well as parts of Van Diemen's Land.

They began playing an unwitting role in the evolution of a policy of assisted migration to the colonies before most of them had even been led onto the prison hulk *York* at Gosport.

Although it is generally accepted that the Whig government responded to the Swing riots in a harsh manner, it is less frequently noted that the riots also made the Whig government turn its mind to the need to deal with the economic distress being suffered by the labourers in southern England. Eventually this process would lead to the adoption of the Wakefield System but in the immediate aftermath of the riots, a number of proposals were considered which in different ways dealt with the twin issues of assisted emigration to the colonies to relieve economic distress, and the means of subsidisation of the forced movement of these large numbers of people.

The arrangements that were made in early January 1831 for the Van Diemen's Land Company to receive fifty assigned machine breakers appears in retrospect to have been a forerunner to the later practice of encouraging assisted emigration of free men and women. Even the history of those *Proteus* and *Eliza* men who subsequently went to work on the Company's estates in the north-west of Van Diemen's Land saw them acting as unwitting lightning rods in the clashes between Lieutenant Governor Arthur and the Company's local agent, Curr – two men who represented very different views on the future development of the island colony. Equally, the free pardons finally granted to the machine breakers came about because their plight became entwined in England with that of the far better known but much less numerous Tolpuddle Martyrs – a fact of which they appear to have been oblivious in Van Diemen's Land.

Their role in the Transportation Committee's deliberations in 1837, and Arthur's reliance on their experience as evidence of the benefits of Transportation, was also something which occurred without their conscious participation.

Although the course of the Swing riots and the work of the magistrates and Special Commissions meant the machine breakers sent to Van Diemen's Land may have represented a slightly skewed cross-section of English village labourers, in most respects they were a fair representative sample of the men of the southern English counties. The archetypal rioter was a married village labourer in his late twenties with two children; if he had a criminal record at all, it was for typical rural offences related to the provision of food or warmth – such as stealing turnip greens or firewood.<sup>734</sup> He was very conservative in his outlook on life. But their numbers also included many young and a few old men, as well as widowers and bachelors. The criminal records of a few, and the accounts of the activities of others during the riots, suggest that a small number had a predilection towards criminal activities and may have eventually been transported for crimes against property and of violence even if the riots had not occurred. Equally, a much smaller number were genuine social radicals. All were constrained by the village society in which they lived.

The colonial experience of the machine breakers provides an excellent opportunity to study the mechanisms of the Assignment System as overseen by Arthur in Van Diemen's Land. Their comparatively large numbers, the skills they offered and the political nature of their offences meant that their sudden arrival in the colony had the potential to put the system under some strain, and test its credibility among the

<sup>734</sup> The archetypal convict being transported to the colonies at this time, by comparison, was a younger, unmarried man with an urban background and with a number of earlier criminal convictions. A.G.L. Shaw, *Convicts and the Colonies*, p.161.

settlers. On balance, the story of the machine breakers in Van Diemen's Land confirmed that the Assignment System did work in the manner as officially described by Arthur and others.

Their assignment was generally carried out in strict adherence to Arthur's own stated principles as to which classes of settlers should be assigned convicts and there appears to have been a deliberate policy of spreading the machine breakers fairly among the settlers (as noted with approval by the colonial press) and fairly on a geographical basis between the north and the south of the colony. The assignment of so many valuable machine breakers to the Van Diemen's Land Company was not of Arthur's own choosing and he and his officers were grudging in their adherence to this requirement.

In Arthur's eyes, the relative success of the machine breakers as convicts, as well as their backgrounds as ordinary rural Englishmen, confirmed some of the principles upon which Transportation and the Assignment Systems were based. This explains why they figured to such an exaggerated extent in the Transportation Debate.

Arthur argued that the greatest virtue of the Assignment System was the mutual self-interest which the system encouraged – and this appeared to be demonstrated by the story of the machine breakers. It was meant to be in the interest of the settler to treat his assigned convicts well, in order that they could help him to prosper. And it was in the interests of the convict to work hard and reform himself, in order to have a more comfortable life and to secure a greater degree of personal freedom – eventuating in a ticket of leave and then a pardon. The relative success of the machine breakers in these areas – well beyond that experienced by the ordinary shipload of convicts – is, of course, ironic in that the machine breakers were not typical convicts and arguably were not men who required redeeming in the first place. Even their free pardons were granted not as a result of their exemplary conduct in Van Diemen's Land, but as a result of public and political agitation back in England, much of which was actually directed at the plight of the Tolpuddle Martyrs rather than the Swing rioters.

In a colony where the majority of servants assigned to the landed settlers were unskilled urban petty criminals, there is no doubt that the settlers valued the machine breakers and probably treated them better than their other assigned servants. Their greater maturity and generally law abiding background, as well as the rural skills they brought to the colony, would also contribute to the machine breakers' apparent success as convicts. The very low conviction rates for the machine breakers, the facts that so few absconded, that their masters were often willing to sponsor reunions with their families, and their general reputation for honesty and industry suggest that they were generally well treated and responded accordingly.

The irony for Arthur, of course, is that although he publicly argued before Parliamentary committees and with other colonial officials that the machine breaker experience demonstrated the general utility and value of the Transportation system, his actions in the colony indicated that he recognised that the machine breakers were not ordinary convicts. He regarded them as being in the same category as the other "political" convicts whom he had to deal with from time to time during his vice regal career both in Van Diemen's Land and Upper Canada.



A more interesting general conclusion which can be drawn from the experience of the machine breakers in Van Diemen's Land, and one with which Arthur would have readily agreed, is that the Assignment System did not brutalize these men. Although such a conclusion has to be tempered by the fact that they were probably better treated by their masters than the typical assigned servant simply because of their greater innate value, there is no doubt they survived its regime quite well. In particular, the sixty or so young machine breakers, whom it might be expected would succumb to its supposed brutality more readily, did not appear to do so. Apart from a few isolated acts of stealing fellow prisoners' food, the young machine breakers did not accumulate records that were any different from those of their older compatriots, and their personal stories of post emancipation success and failure mirror those of the larger group.

As to whether the experience of the machine breakers really did demonstrate the benefits of Transportation - the evidence does not support Arthur's oft-repeated argument (using the men from the *Eliza* as his common example) that the fear of transportation could work to reduce crime in England. What did happen in England as a result of the stern reprisals taken against the machine breakers by the Special Commissions was that protests continued but took on a more sinister and anonymous nature. Covert acts of serious animal maiming and rick burning became much more common, as did the prevalence of Swing-type letters. It is also worth noting that, apart from the rather suspect assertion to the contrary by the Archdeacon of New South Wales in "*Observations*", the machine breakers who were transported never questioned the rightness of what they were doing; their regrets were more a result of the unexpected vigour of the Home Government's response to their protests.

It is ironic that a group of men who were, in so many ways, atypical convicts, became the primary evidence that Arthur relied upon in order to support some of his claims about the Transportation System for ordinary convicts and that they should come to play such an important part in our historical view of those unfortunates as a whole.

Equally, they were pointed to from time to time as indicative of the kinds of honest, hardworking rural labourers who could be attracted to the colonies if some kind of assisted emigration program could be successfully developed.

In the early part of the twentieth century, the machine breakers fitted the mould of the innocent protester, exemplified so commonly by the Tolpuddle Martyrs, and so were pointed to by historians such as Wood as the typical convict during a period when there had been a significant re-assessment of Australian history. Nowadays, they are regarded more accurately as representing part of that significant minority of convicts who could legitimately lay claim to the title "village Hampden", but who are still outweighed in numbers by the masses of "ne'er do wells" who it is now acknowledged swelled out the convict ranks. They certainly were "a different kettle of fish".

With the gradual acceptance in Australia that most convicts were ne'er do wells, or at least petty criminals induced to crime by economic distress, there has even developed a kind of snobbery in this country around having a machine breaker in one's family

tree, because the men of the *Proteus*, the *Eliza* and the *Eleanor* as prisoners of conscience can still be regarded as "respectable" convict ancestors. Newsletters dealing only with machine breakers and nineteenth century rural activists are circulated in England and Australia amongst the descendants of these men<sup>735</sup> and two national conferences of the descendants of machine breakers have been held in Australia in recent years.<sup>736</sup>

Apart from their historical significance in the development of our view of convicts between 1831 and the present, studying the lives of the men of the *Eliza* and the *Proteus* has another benefit. There is a special value in the simple though protracted act of unpacking the lives of over three hundred quite ordinary men who found themselves thrust into an extraordinary situation on the other end of the world - a fate which might, but for the 1830 Swing riots, only ever have touched perhaps a dozen or so of their number as convicts.

The ultimate fate of the 322 men is shown to have been much more complex than the rather pedestrian view ascribed to them by influential historians such as Rudé, who believed most of them ended their days as small farmers or labourers in Tasmania. In many respects, their lives responded to opportunities or events around them, like the settling of Port Phillip and the north-west of Van Diemen's Land, the depression of 1840, the Victorian Gold Rush and the establishment of colonies further afield. Even the possibility that many machine breakers returned to their families in England was doubted by recent historians but can now be accepted as factual and clearly puts them in a different category to the ordinary emancipated convicts.

It is only by identifying the stories of many of the individual machine breakers and then aggregating their life stories is it realised just how noteworthy a role they played in the development of a number of Australian colonies - as both major and minor players.

The machine breakers made a significant contribution to the development of Van Diemen's Land and the early development of Port Phillip. Within Van Diemen's Land, many of those who stayed after receiving their freedom became successful farmers, publicans and carriers. In particular, those who worked for the Van Diemen's Land Company or who pioneered the tracts opened up near the Company's estates played a significant part in the development of the colony's north-west. They also played a significant although generally ignored role as the shepherds and managers who were hand-picked by the earliest settlers of Port Phillip to assist them in settling that new colony in 1836. They were subsequently joined by other machine breakers and together played a major part in the settlement of the western districts of the new colony. A number also went on to play a major part in supplying food to the Victorian gold fields and building materials to the city of Melbourne during its boom times. A few machine breakers even took part in the pioneering of the colonies subsequently established in Brisbane and Adelaide.

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<sup>735</sup> The most enduring of which has been *Machine Breakers News*, edited by Jill Chambers.

<sup>736</sup> Swing Rioters' Conferences were held in Melbourne in August 1997 and July 1999.

One fact deserving particular note is the frequency with which machine breakers were joined in the colonies by members of their immediate or extended families, suggesting that in their letters home they were encouraging family members to join them. This phenomenon of chain migration is tempered by the disappointment that must have been felt by those well-behaved machine breakers who were given permission for their wives and children to join them in the colony, but whose wives declined to make the perilous journey to Van Diemen's Land – presumably out of fear. A related fact of note is that the village and family links between the machine breakers remained strong despite the dislocation they suffered, and even contributed to the chain migration to the colonies of more free settlers from the southern counties of England.

There is also something noteworthy in the fact that possibly as many as fifty machine breakers from the *Proteus* and the *Eliza* may have returned to England after being granted free pardons. This represented an enormous sacrifice on the part of those men and speaks volumes about the strength of their desire – with one known exception all of whom were married with children – to return to their families. The paradox, of course, is that in almost all the recorded cases those who returned to England ended their days in conditions no better than those which forced them to riot in the first place, whereas many of those who stayed in the colonies appear to have fared better than they would have if they had not been transported in 1831.

Perhaps Bigge was correct, and such convicts could not fail to benefit from colonisation. They had arrived to a growing, even booming, colony in Van Diemen's Land, Arthur formally reporting both in 1831 and 1832 of the state of the colony in each of the previous years "that it has been exceedingly prosperous". In 1832, his report continued "Agriculture has been pursued as well as the whale fishery, with great spirit and the foundation is evidently laid for placing the colony in a position independent of support from the Home Government".<sup>737</sup> This boom, together with the later economic surge that became the 'Port Phillip mania',<sup>738</sup> which accompanied the founding of Port Phillip perhaps all but ensured the rioters a 'participation in those comforts and advantages which seem to be inseparably connected with colonisation'.<sup>739</sup>

<sup>737</sup> Arthur to Goderich, 8 September 1831, CO 28/296 PRO reel 248 and Arthur to Goderich, 10 October 1832, CO 280/36 PRO reel 252.

<sup>738</sup> Hartwell, p.207.

<sup>739</sup> A.G.L. Shaw, *Convicts and the Colonies*, p.105.

## ABBREVIATIONS

### **Abbreviations used in this thesis**

*ADB* – Australian Dictionary of Biography

*AOT* – Archives Office of Tasmania

*DNB* – Dictionary of National Biography

*HRA* – Historical Records of Australia

*HRADP* – Historical Records of Australia Documentary Periodical

*JRAHS* – Journal of the Royal Australian Historical Society

*MBN* – Machine Breaker News

*NSS VDL* – Records of the Van Diemen's Land Company, held by the Archives Office of Tasmania

*OED* – Oxford English Dictionary

*THRA* – Tasmanian Historical Research Association

## APPENDIX 1

### BIBLIOGRAPHY

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 HO 13/57 (Criminal Papers, Home Office)  
 HO 17/54 and 9/9  
 PRO 953

##### Tasmania (All Held in Archives Office of Tasmania)

CON (Convict Records) files – Principally CON 31 and CON 78.  
 GO (Lieutenant Governor's Despatches)  
 CSO (Colonial Secretary's Correspondence)  
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### Tasmania, Victoria and New South Wales.

*Bacchus Marsh Express, Daily Telegraph, Hobart Colonial Times, Hobart Town Courier, Hobart Town Gazette, Hobart Mercury, Launceston Advertiser, The Colonist, The Tasmanian (and Southern Literary and Political Journal), Sydney Morning Herald.*

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## APPENDIX 2 BIOGRAPHICAL DETAILS

### MACHINE BREAKERS TRANSPORTED ON THE *PROTEUS* AND THE *ELIZA*

Primary sources for much of the basic information gleaned about the following 322 machine breaker convicts are common and can be dealt with by a single reference.

Primary archival sources for the information were-

- Appropriation List for *Eliza* - CON 27/7
- Appropriation List for *Proteus* - CON 13/4-5
- Convict Indents for the individual convicts.
- Conduct Records for the Machine Breakers - CON 31 and 78 series (incl. CON 78/2 – Police Office Launceston – Alphabetical Register of Convicts Conduct – 1822 to 1844).
- Marriages and Deaths in Tasmania - Pioneer Index of Tasmania.
- Marriages and Deaths in other colonies - Relevant State Records.

References to the ages of the machine breakers are references to their ages at the time of their trials.

Information regarding applications by convicts for assisted passage for their families has been frequently derived from the results of a colonial records indexing project compiled by C Mesecke (ed), *Convict Applications to bring out families to Van Diemen's Land (also NSW, Vic and WA)*.

Much information about the settlers to whom machine breakers were assigned comes from the *Australian Dictionary of Biographies* ('ADB'), *Journal of the Land Commissioners (Van Diemen's Land)*, and the *Hobart Town Almanack for 1831*.

Sources for more detailed information about particular machine breakers and settlers are given in the individual biographical entries.

## **PART 1**

***ELIZA***

<b>Name</b>	ABERY, Thomas	<b>AKA</b>	Abree, Abrey, Albury
<b>Age</b> 32	<b>Trade / Calling</b> Stonemason		
<b>Offence / Sentence</b> Machine breaking. Transported for 7 years.			
<b>County</b> Wiltshire		<b>Transport</b> Eliza	
<b>Remarks</b> Married with two children (wife Mary a widow). Before Abery's sentencing, Lord Arundel spoke on his behalf and informed the Bench that, during the repairs to Salisbury Cathedral, Abery was the stonemason who was hauled up to the spire in a basket to effect repairs to the stonework. He was blind in the right eye.			
<b>Convict Conduct Record in VDL</b> March 13, 1833 - Working for C. Hanagan contrary to orders- Reprimanded. May 5 1834 - Drunk - Solitary confinement for three Saturday afternoons.			
<b>Narrative of life in VDL</b> Upon arrival, Abery was assigned to the Public Works and stayed with the Department until he received his ticket of leave in 1835. He received his free pardon on 3 February 1836. In 1844, he married Ann Williams in the colony and, judging by a reference being made to him in a letter sent to Thomas Vinen (another machine breaker from the same village) he continued to keep in contact with Vinen in the colony. There is no other record of Abery until his death in 1852.			
<b>Death / Final record</b> Abery was probably buried at Westbury in 1852.			
<b>References</b>			
<i>London Times</i> , 3 December 1830, and letter to Thomas Vinen dated July 1849 (Vinen Letters)			

<b>Name</b>	ALEXANDER, Joseph	<b>AKA</b>	
<b>Age</b> 25	<b>Trade / Calling</b> Carpenter, wheelwright.		
<b>Offence / Sentence</b> Machine breaking. Transported for 7 years.			
<b>County</b> Wiltshire.		<b>Transport</b> Eliza	
<b>Remarks</b> Married with three children (wife Elizabeth a shopkeeper). In addition to Joseph and Matthias, a third brother named Ambrose stood trial for machine breaking, but was acquitted.			
<b>Convict Conduct Record in VDL</b> No offences recorded.			
<b>Narrative of life in VDL</b> Upon arrival, Joseph Alexander was assigned to the Public Works and stayed with the Department until he received his ticket of leave in 1835. He received his free pardon on 3 February 1836. Joseph and his cousin (and fellow machine breaker) Matthias Alexander were pioneers in the far north west of Van Diemen's Land. They became successful merchants and landowners. Alexander married twice in the colony, in 1854 (Mary Dyer) and 1856 (Harriet Gee), and sired another three children by Harriet. Mary Ann, a daughter by his first wife Elizabeth, emigrated to the colony and settled near the township of Alexander with her husband.			
<b>Death / Final record</b> Alexander died in Wynyard in 1878.			

**References** Information about Mary Ann Alexander supplied by J Kelly, in Chambers, "Wiltshire Machine Breakers".

<b>Name</b>	ALEXANDER, Matthias	<b>AKA</b>
<b>Age 20</b>	<b>Trade / Calling</b> Hurdle maker	
<b>Offence / Sentence</b> Machine breaking. Transported for 7 years.		
<b>County</b> Wiltshire	<b>Transport</b> Eliza	
<b>Remarks</b> Single.		
<b>Convict Conduct Record in VDL</b> No convictions recorded		
<p><b>Narrative of life in VDL</b> Upon arrival, Mathias Alexander was assigned to the VDL Company and stayed with the Company until he received his ticket of leave in 1835. He received his free pardon on 3 February 1836. With his cousin (and fellow machine breaker) Joseph Alexander, he pioneered the settlement of the far north west of the colony.</p> <p>He married twice, the first time to Mary Reading, a former convict, in 1838, and the second time to Ann Thewlis. Each of his wives bore him seven children.</p>		
<b>Death / Final record</b> Alexander died in Wynyard in 1865.		
<b>References</b>		

<b>Name</b>	ALLEN, John	<b>AKA</b>
<b>Age 51</b>	<b>Trade / Calling</b> Bricklayer	
<b>Offence / Sentence</b> Machine breaking. Transported for 7 years.		
<b>County</b> Hampshire	<b>Transport</b> Eliza	
<b>Remarks</b> Married with 10 children (wife Elizabeth on the parish).		
<b>Convict Conduct Record in VDL</b> No offences recorded.		
<p><b>Narrative of life in VDL</b> Upon arrival, Allen was assigned to the Public Works. By 1832, however, he had been re-assigned to the Reverend Garratt and stayed with him until he received his ticket of leave in 1835. Allen had two petitions lodged on his behalf in England by a number of church officers who had employed him so it is likely his experience at church building or renovation led to his assignment to the Reverend Garratt. He received his free pardon on 3 February 1836 and left Van Diemen's Land in 1839 to return to his family in England.</p>		
<b>Death / Final record</b> Allen returned to his village in England and was still alive in 1851. He was recorded in a census record for that year as still working as a bricklayer.		
<b>References</b>		

<b>Name</b>	AMOR, Shadrach	<b>AKA</b>
<b>Age 21</b>	<b>Trade / Calling</b> Farm labourer, groom	
<b>Offence / Sentence</b> Machine breaking (two offences). Transported for 7 years.		



County Wiltshire	Transport Eliza
Remarks Single	
Convict Conduct Record in VDL No offences recorded.	
<p><b>Narrative of life in VDL</b> Upon arrival, Amor was assigned to J Lucas, a farmer in the South Esk area. By 1832 he was working on the property of Affleck Moodie, an assistant commissary general who had been highly regarded by both Sorell as well as Arthur. He appears to have remained on Moodie's property until he received his ticket of leave in 1835. He received his free pardon on 3 February 1836 and four weeks later married Elizabeth Moore at a church ceremony in Hobart. Shadrach and Elizabeth moved to Sydney where he established a market garden at a place called Five Docks. They had no children, but Shadrach was joined in Sydney by other members of his family from Wiltshire - a brother (Thomas) who was a widower with his three children, and two nieces.</p>	
<p><b>Death / Final record</b> Amor lived to a very ripe old age, dying in Sydney on 24 June 1900 (his birthday).</p>	
<p><b>References</b> Additional information supplied by Mrs J.C. Webster, Queensland.</p>	

Name	ANDREWS, Henry	AKA
Age 23	Trade / Calling Kitchen gardener	
Offence / Sentence Machine breaking. Transported for 7 years.		
County Kent	Transport Eliza	
Remarks Single. He was recorded in his Gaol report as a respectable labourer.		
Convict Conduct Record in VDL No offences recorded.		
Narrative of life in VDL Upon arrival, Andrews was assigned to Thomas Hewitt and appears to have remained with him until he received his ticket of leave in 1835. He received his free pardon on 3 February, 1836. No other record appears until his death in 1884 in the colony.		
Death / Final record Andrews died in 1884 in Tasmania.		
References		

Name	ARNEY, William	AKA	Earney
Age 27	Trade / Calling Carpenter, joiner		
Offence / Sentence Machine breaking. Transported for 7 years.			
County Hampshire.	Transport Eliza		
Remarks Married with one child (wife Ann on the parish). Arney's brother Joseph had been transported to NSW on the <i>Eleanor</i> for machine breaking as well. A second conviction saw Joseph transported to Norfolk Island.			
Convict Conduct Record in VDL June 10, 1835 - Having a government saw in his possession when returning from an assignment - Admonished.			
Narrative of life in VDL Upon arrival, Arney was assigned to the Public Works and stayed there until he received his ticket of leave in 1835. He received his free pardon on 3 February 1836. Within a year, he had set sail for England.			
Death / Final record Arney returned to England some time after 1837 and was still alive in 1851. By then, he			

had remarried after the death of Ann and his occupation at that time was described in a census as messenger.

# References

Name ATKINS, Joseph		AKA
Age 33	Trade / Calling Ploughman	
Offence / Sentence Machine breaking. Transported for 14 years		
County Oxford		Transport Eliza
Remarks Married with six children (wife Martha on the parish).		
<b>Convict Conduct Record in VDL</b> Oct 1831 - found in Hobart Town without leave - Reprimanded. April 1834 - Gross neglect of duty as a constable when in charge of the Domain farm- Dismissed from police force and returned to Prisoners Barracks- to be employed as a labourer at Ross.		
<b>Narrative of life in VDL</b> Upon arrival, Atkins was assigned to Mr Peters of Bagdad. Within a few months, however, he was working on the Government farm and, by 1834, was a constable. Neglect of duty that year led him to the work gang and he was assigned to Ross and, later, to Launceston. He did not receive his free pardon until 24 April 1837. He then disappears from the records until his death in 1861.		
<b>Death / Final record</b> Atkins died in Tasmania in 1861		
References		

Name		BAKER, David	AKA	
Age 30		Trade / Calling Ploughman		
Offence / Sentence Machine breaking. Transported for 7 years.				
County Wiltshire			Transport Eliza	
Remarks Married with three children (wife Alice)				
Previous convictions for poaching and leaving his master.				
Convict Conduct Record in VDL Sept 10, 1831 - Neglect of duty and insolence - reprimanded.				
Oct 21, 1831 - Neglect of duty and disobedience - one months imprisonment and returned to master.				
Narrative of life in VDL Upon arrival, Baker was assigned to Mr J Evans in Brighton, and remained with him until 1833, when he was re-assigned to James Thornloe. He received his ticket of leave in 1835 and free pardon on 3 February 1836. Some time after 1841, he managed to save enough money to return to England.				
Death / Final record Baker returned to England some time after 1841. He was recorded in a census in 1851 as still being a labourer.				
References				

Name	BAKER, Henry	AKA
Age 35	Trade / Calling Ploughman	
Offence / Sentence Machine breaking. Transported for 7 years.		
County Essex	Transport Eliza	

<b>Remarks</b> Married with six children (wife Sarah on the parish). His conduct record is annotated that he had been 14 years in the service in England.
<b>Convict Conduct Record in VDL</b> No offences recorded.
<b>Narrative of life in VDL</b> Upon arrival, Baker was assigned to J Youl and appears to have remained with him until he received his ticket of leave in 1835. He received his free pardon on 3 February 1836.
<b>Death / Final record</b> It is likely that Baker left Van Diemen's Land in 1842 for Port Phillip.
<b>References</b>

<b>Name</b> BAKER, William	<b>AKA</b>
<b>Age</b> 27	<b>Trade / Calling</b> Blacksmith
<b>Offence / Sentence</b> Machine breaking. Transported for 7 years.	
<b>County</b> Wiltshire	<b>Transport</b> Eliza
<b>Remarks</b> Single. Baker was recorded as being deaf, with a hesitation in his speech.	
<b>Convict Conduct Record in VDL</b> No offences recorded.	
<b>Narrative of life in VDL</b> Upon arrival, Baker was assigned to Lt. George W Gunning ( formerly of the 73 <sup>rd</sup> Regt) of Coal River, who was held in high esteem by Arthur for his willingness to experiment with various crops and his extensive pioneering work in fruit orchards, vines and hops. Baker appears to have remained on Gunning's property until he received his ticket of leave in 1835. He received his free pardon on 3 February 1836.	
<b>Death / Final record</b> It is possible that Baker died in Tasmania in 1868. Alternatively, a William Baker left the island in 1843.	
<b>References</b> ADB.	

<b>Name</b> BALL, George	<b>AKA</b>
<b>Age</b> 23	<b>Trade / Calling</b> Ploughman
<b>Offence / Sentence</b> Machine breaking. Transported for 7 years.	
<b>County</b> Wiltshire	<b>Transport</b> Eliza
<b>Remarks</b> Single. Previous conviction for disorderly conduct.	
<b>Convict Conduct Record in VDL</b> Aug 20, 1834 - Disobedience - two days confinement on bread and water.	
<b>Narrative of life in VDL</b> Upon arrival, Ball was assigned to Thomas Attlenden/Atkinson at New Norfolk, and appears to have remained with him until he received his ticket of leave in 1835. He received his free pardon on 3 February 1836.	
<b>Death / Final record</b> There is no record of Ball in the colony after 1843 and it is assumed he left some time thereafter.	
<b>References</b>	

<b>Name</b> BALL, Robert.	<b>AKA</b>
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Age 23	Trade / Calling Ploughman
Offence / Sentence Machine breaking. Transported for 7 years.	
County Gloucestershire	Transport Eliza
Remarks Married with two children (wife Sarah on the parish).	
Convict Conduct Record in VDL No offences recorded.	
<p><b>Narrative of life in VDL</b> Upon arrival, Ball was assigned to the VDL Company. In October 1835, shortly after he received his ticket of leave, he arrived in Launceston on the Company's schooner. He was soon back on the Company estate at Woolnorth, however, and remained on the Company's payroll until November 1836. He had received his free pardon on 3 February 1836. It is likely that Ball later went to Evandale, where he lived with a female convict, a female child and another adult male. It is not known, however, whether the child was his. A number of other ex-Company machine breakers had already gone to Evandale to farm in the area.</p>	
<p><b>Death / Final record</b> There is no record of Ball in Van Diemen's Land after 1838, and it is most likely he left the colony thereafter.</p>	
References	

Name	BANSTONE, Samuel	AKA	Macey, Barrett (M).
Age 40	Trade / Calling Farm labourer		
Offence / Sentence Machine breaking. Transported for 7 years.			
County Wiltshire	Transport Eliza		
Remarks Married with nine children (wife Charlotte). He admitted to four prior convictions for poaching.			
Convict Conduct Record in VDL Oct 11, 1831 - Disobedience and neglect of duty - Treadwheel for 7 days. July 20, 1835 (after he received his ticket of leave) - Drunk - Imprisoned for 6 days.			
Narrative of life in VDL After his arrival, Banstone was entered for assignment to Lt Thomas Burgh RN of Invermay, but he was soon working for William Gunn at Old Beach, with whom he appears to have remained until he received his ticket of leave in 1835. He received his free pardon on 3 February 1836.			
Death / Final record There is no record of Banstone after he received his free pardon in 1836 and it is assumed he left the colony.			
References			

Name		BARRETT, John	AKA
Age 24		Trade / Calling Ploughman	
Offence / Sentence Machine breaking. Transported for 7 years.			
County Wiltshire		Transport Eliza	
Remarks Married with one child (wife Eliza).			
One previous charge for stealing food - discharged.			
Convict Conduct Record in VDL No offences recorded.			

<b>Narrative of life in VDL</b> Upon arrival, Barrett was noted for assignment to R Brumby but by 1832 was working for Lieutenant. Hawkins at Little Swan Port. He appears to have remained with Lieutenant Hawkins until he received his ticket of leave in 1835. He received his free pardon on 3 February 1836.
<b>Death / Final record</b> In 1839, Barrett returned home to England and sired four more children. In early 1851, he was working as a blacksmith with his brother Samuel, but by the end of the year he is recorded in a census as a farm labourer again.
<b>References</b> Vinen Letters, 8 March 1841 and 27 August 1851

<b>Name</b> BARRETT, Robert		<b>AKA</b>
<b>Age</b> 28	<b>Trade / Calling</b> Groom, kitchen gardener.	
<b>Offence / Sentence</b> Machine breaking, riotous assembly. Transported for 7 years.		
<b>County</b> Wiltshire		<b>Transport</b> Eliza
<b>Remarks</b> Married with four children (wife Sabina).		
<b>Convict Conduct Record in VDL</b> Apr 21, 1832 - Gross insubordination and inciting fellow servants to mutiny - sentence extended by one year. Oct 23, 1832 - Disobedience, neglect of duty - treadwheel for 10 days. May 28 1834 - Drunkenness, insolence - TL suspended during Lieut Gov.'s pleasure. (Note, the entry may be incorrectly recorded as 1834; it may in fact have been in 1835.) Jan 9, 1837 - Disorderly conduct - reprimanded. June 26, 1837 - Being in town all night- discharged.		
<b>Narrative of life in VDL</b> Upon arrival, Barrett was assigned to James Gordon of Sorell. Gordon was a highly regarded settler, having previously served on the Lieutenant Governor's Council and more recently on the Legislative Council. He was known as an advanced farmer and he had prepared a comprehensive report at Arthur's request on the agricultural possibilities of the colony, which included an analysis of the suitability of various crops for local soils and conditions. Of less creditable memory is the fact that he is generally regarded as the man who introduced the scotch thistle into the colony – apparently for sentimental reasons. Barrett appears to have remained with Gordon until at least 1833. He applied for free passage for his wife and family in October 1831, an application which was supported by Gordon and Arthur. There is no record indicating, however, that Barrett's family ever made the journey to Van Diemen's Land. In fact his subsequent turbulent conduct as a convict suggests very strongly that they did not come out to join him. He was still in servitude, not having received a ticket of leave, at the time he finally received a free pardon in 1837.		
<b>Death / Final record</b> There is no record of Barrett after he received his free pardon in 1837, and it is most likely he left the colony soon thereafter.		
<b>References</b> GO 33/8, p1002., ADB.		

Name		BARRETT, Samuel	AKA
Age 30		Trade / Calling Ploughman	
Offence / Sentence Riotous assembly. Transported for 7 years.			

County Wiltshire	Transport Eliza
<b>Remarks</b> Single. Previously charged with stealing beef - acquitted. Also convicted of stealing turnips.	
<b>Convict Conduct Record in VDL</b> No offences recorded.	
<b>Narrative of life in VDL</b> Upon arrival, Barrett was assigned to Thomas Axford. Apart from a brief period with the Public Works, Barrett remained with Axford until he received his ticket of leave in 1835. He received his free pardon on 25 May 1837.	
<b>Death / Final record</b> Barrett returned to England in 1839.	
<b>References</b>	

Name		BARROW, George	AKA
Age 36		Trade / Calling Carpenter, joiner	
Offence / Sentence Machine breaking. Transported for 7 years.			
County Kent		Transport Eliza	
Remarks Married (wife Mary on the parish). One previous conviction for a "misdemeanour".			
Convict Conduct Record in VDL No offences recorded.			
Narrative of life in VDL Upon arrival, Barrow was assigned to the Public Works and appears to have remained there until he received his ticket of leave in 1835. He received his free pardon on 3 February 1836.			
Death / Final record There is no record of Barrow after he received his free pardon in 1836 and it is assumed he left the colony.			
References			

Name	BARTLETT, David	AKA
Age 24	Trade / Calling Ploughman	
Offence / Sentence Machine breaking. Transported for 7 years.		
County Wiltshire	Transport Eliza	
Remarks Married with one child (wife Tabitha).		
Convict Conduct Record in VDL No offences recorded.		
<p><b>Narrative of life in VDL</b> Upon arrival, Bartlett was assigned to A Laing at Pittwater and appears to have remained with him until he received his ticket of leave in 1835. He received his free pardon on 3 February 1836 and married Mary (Agnes?) Skewes at Sorell in 1842.</p> <p>A David Bartlett was convicted of bigamy in 1859 and sentenced to 12 months at Port Arthur. This may not be the machine breaker David Bartlett, as at the time there was another emancipated convict of the same name, and the record may have been incorrectly transcribed into the wrong convict record. But, if it was him then he was hard done by, considering that his wife had already remarried in England a number of years earlier.</p>		
<b>Death / Final record</b> There is no record of Bartlett after his prison sentence for bigamy in 1859 - if that even is		

him. The last confirmed record for Bartlett was his marriage in 1842.
By 1851, Tabitha, his wife in England, had remarried and borne two more children.
<b>References</b> CON 31/4, p.118

<b>Name</b> BARTLETT, William		<b>AKA</b>
<b>Age</b> 31	<b>Trade / Calling</b> Ploughman	
<b>Offence / Sentence</b> Machine breaking. Transported for 7 years.		
<b>County</b> Wiltshire		<b>Transport</b> Eliza
<b>Remarks</b> Married with four children (wife Rebecca). One previous conviction for poaching.		
<b>Convict Conduct Record in VDL</b> Oct 3 1831 - Neglect of duty - removed from master's service and placed in Sorell Rivulet Road Party.		
<b>Narrative of life in VDL</b> Upon arrival, Bartlett was assigned to D Ballentine, but his conviction for neglect of duty saw him assigned to a road party within a few months. In early 1833 he was reassigned to George Palmer Ball, a recently arrived settler who farmed a property near Perth. In October of that year Bartlett was appointed as a constable in the Norfolk Plains District. He applied for and received permission for his family to join him and they arrived in early 1835. He received his ticket of leave in 1835 and a free pardon on 3 February 1836. He remained in the colony, living at Carrick, where a census in 1840 described him as an employer of servants, so he was probably a farmer. Bartlett and his family sailed to Port Phillip in January 1846 where he continued farming in Geelong. He became a respected figure in the community and later served on the first Roads Board for the Shire of Winchelsea.		
<b>Death / Final record</b> Bartlett died in Victoria some time before 1865.		
<b>References</b> ADB, and information supplied by Vanessa Coakley.		

<b>Name</b> BATES, Daniel		<b>AKA</b> Samuel Bates
<b>Age</b> 26	<b>Trade / Calling</b> Carpenter, wheelwright	
<b>Offence / Sentence</b> Machine breaking. Transported for life.		
<b>County</b> Berkshire		<b>Transport</b> Eliza
<b>Remarks</b> Single.		
<b>Convict Conduct Record in VDL</b> Oct 22, 1833 - Out after hours - Reprimanded. Jan 19, 1835 - Holding communication with a female prisoner against whom he had been brought up as a witness - Imprisoned and three months hard labour at his trade. His conduct record is annotated, however, that this sentence was cancelled by Lieutenant Governor Arthur in consequence of Bates' general good conduct.		
<b>Narrative of life in VDL</b> Upon arrival, Bates was assigned to the Public Works and appears to have remained there until he received his ticket of leave. In October 1834, he applied for permission to marry Mary Ann Stringer, a female convict. The application was not sent on to the Colonial Secretary until March 1835. The		

delay in acting on the application may have been part of his punishment for the intervening offence of 'holding communication with a female prisoner' – the convict was probably Mary Stringer. In April 1835, Bates married Mary in Holy Trinity church at Hobart town. He received his free pardon on 24 April 1837.

Until 1842, Bates ran a wheelwright business in Murray Street, Hobart and from 1843, he ran his business from Brown's River, Kingston. There, he and Mary lived in a cottage on about one and three quarters of an acre until his death.

**Death / Final record** Bates died in Tasmania in 1875.

**References** N Fox, *Berkshire to Botany Bay*, p.145.

<b>Name</b> BEALE, John		<b>AKA</b>
<b>Age</b> 38	<b>Trade / Calling</b> Carpenter, joiner	
<b>Offence / Sentence</b> Machine breaking. Transported for 7 years.		
<b>County</b> Kent	<b>Transport</b> Eliza	
<b>Remarks</b> Married with one child (wife Janet on the parish).		
<b>Convict Conduct Record in VDL</b> May 18, 1835 - Drunk and out after hours - admonished.		
<b>Narrative of life in VDL</b> Upon arrival, Beale was assigned to the Public Works and remained there until he received his ticket of leave in 1835. He received his free pardon on 3 February 1836 and remained in the colony. In 1848, he married Margaret Collins.		
<b>Death / Final record</b> Beale died in Tasmania in 1866		
<b>References</b>		

<b>Name</b> BE(A)MINSTER, Joseph		<b>AKA</b>
<b>Age</b> 38	<b>Trade / Calling</b> Ploughman	
<b>Offence / Sentence</b> Machine breaking. Transported for 7 years.		
<b>County</b> Wiltshire	<b>Transport</b> Eliza	
<b>Remarks</b> Widower with one child. Previous conviction for disorderly conduct. Sent to gaol for failure to pay fine; broke out of gaol and sentenced to 6 months further imprisonment.		
<b>Convict Conduct Record in VDL</b> No offences recorded.		
<b>Narrative of life in VDL</b> Upon arrival, Beaminster was assigned to Gabriel Cook and appears to have remained with him until he received his ticket of leave in 1835. He received his free pardon on 3 February 1836 and left the colony for Port Phillip on 6 April 1836. Beaminster returned to the colony but in 1852 sailed for Port Phillip again, in the company of fellow machine breaker Arthur Hillier. On this occasion, he did not return.		
<b>Death / Final record</b> There is no confirmed date for Beaminster's death, but he almost certainly spent the final years of his life in Victoria.		



<b>References</b>	
<b>Name</b> BECKINGHAM, Richard.	<b>AKA</b>
<b>Age</b> 26	<b>Trade / Calling</b> Ploughman, Kitchen gardener
<b>Offence / Sentence</b> Machine breaking. Transported for 7 years.	
<b>County</b> Hampshire	<b>Transport</b> Eliza
<b>Remarks</b> Single. Previous convictions for poaching (possibly up to three convictions for this offence).	
<b>Convict Conduct Record in VDL</b> Sept 25, 1833 - Absconding - 12 months imprisonment. Jan 13, 1835 - Neglect of duty - Reprimanded. July 14, 1835 - Found beastly drunk in Murray Street - T of L suspended for 6 months. Oct 5 1835 - Neglect of duty - Dismissed from his position as watchman. Apr 10, 1835 - Stealing one crayfish - not guilty.	
<b>Narrative of life in VDL</b> Upon arrival, Beckingham was assigned to Lieutenant Davis but in 1833 he absconded and after re-capture was sent to the Public Works. He appears to have been a difficult convict, and lost his privileged positions twice as a result of neglect of duty and drunkenness - first, when he was a wardsman in a hospital and later as a watchman. He finished his convict career assigned to William Sorell. Notwithstanding his poor record he received his free pardon on 3 February 1836 like many of the others.	
<b>Death / Final record</b> Beckingham last appears in the records in Van Diemen's Land in 1837, when he was found not guilty of a charge of stealing. It is likely that he left the colony some time thereafter.	
<b>References</b>	

<b>Name</b> BECKLEY, Charles	<b>AKA</b> Giddings
<b>Age</b> 25	<b>Trade / Calling</b> Ploughman
<b>Offence / Sentence</b> Machine breaking. Transported for 7 years.	
<b>County</b> Wiltshire	<b>Transport</b> Eliza
<b>Remarks</b> Beckley was married with one child (wife Sarah) when the riots commenced. His machine breaking offence occurred on 22 November 1830 and his five month old daughter, Angel, was buried on 7 December. It is not clear on what date she actually died. He had one previous conviction, for stealing apples.	
<b>Convict Conduct Record in VDL</b> Aug 11, 1834 - Tippling in a public house - 25 lashes. Aug 6, 1835 - Insolence - 3 months on Long Meadow Road Party. Nov 13, 1835 - Idleness - 6 weeks hard labour in addition to original sentence.	
<b>Narrative of life in VDL</b> Upon arrival, Beckley was assigned to the VDL Company. Beckley appears to have been one of the victims of Curr's reluctance to recommend tickets of leave to their assigned servants, and he was	

still working for the Company in August 1835, when most other machine breakers with a 7 year sentence had already received their tickets. Perhaps it was frustration which led him to commit his first serious offence in August of that year. Beckley's original sentence would have seen him returned to the Company, but he was still on the road party when his free pardon was granted on 3 February 1836.
<b>Death / Final record</b> There is no record of Beckley after he received his free pardon in 1836 and it is assumed he left the colony.
<b>References</b>

<b>Name</b>	BENNET(T), Charles	<b>AKA</b>
<b>Age 25</b>	<b>Trade / Calling</b> House servant	
<b>Offence / Sentence</b> Machine breaking. Transported for 7 years.		
<b>County</b> Wiltshire	<b>Transport</b> Eliza	
<b>Remarks</b> Single		
<b>Convict Conduct Record in VDL</b> Feb 23, 1835 - Disobedience in refusing to work on New Years Day - Admonished.		
<b>Narrative of life in VDL</b> Upon arrival, Bennett was assigned to the VDL Company. He had not received a ticket of leave at the time he received his free pardon on 3 February 1836, and was probably still working with the Company.  In response to a letter of inquiry from the Principal Superintendent's Office in August 1836, Curr responded that Bennett was in service at Western Port, New Holland. He married and had one child in 1837.		
<b>Death / Final record</b> It is likely that Bennett died in Victoria in 1873.		
<b>References</b> VDL 14.		

<b>Name</b> BINSTEAD, Arthur		<b>AKA</b>
<b>Age 48</b>	<b>Trade / Calling</b> Top sawyer	
<b>Offence / Sentence</b> Machine breaking. Transported for 14 years.		
<b>County</b> Sussex	<b>Transport</b> Eliza	
<b>Remarks</b> Married with seven children. (wife Maria on the parish). His son George was also on the Eliza.		
<b>Convict Conduct Record in VDL</b> No offences recorded.		
<b>Narrative of life in VDL</b> Upon arrival, Binstead was assigned to the Public Works. He appears to have remained there until he received his ticket of leave.  Maria Binstead joined him in Van Diemen's Land some time between 1834 and 1837. A public subscription had been taken up in the Parish of Northmundham to pay for her and the three youngest children to come out to the colony. He received his free pardon on 24 April 1837 and shortly thereafter, Binstead went to New South Wales with his family, including George. His other son, John, who had been transported for sheep stealing and burglary in 1832, was assigned in the same district where they settled down.  In 1842, they moved to Brisbane (Moreton Bay) with some of their family and established a sawmill, buying the		

freehold land in April 1843. It was the first commercial sawmill established in Brisbane and was a major landmark for many years. His son John managed to get his ticket of leave amended so he could travel to Brisbane and he joined them in 1847, working in the family businesses, which now included hotels as well as sawmills.

One of his sisters also came out to South Australia under an assisted emigration scheme and another daughter who had not come out with Maria finally came out to join her family in Brisbane with her husband.

**Death / Final record** Binstead died in Brisbane in 1851 and his widow returned to live with their son George in Melbourne.

**References** Information supplied by Marie Kau and Lorna Purser.

<b>Name</b>	BINSTEAD, George	<b>AKA</b>	
<b>Age 18</b>	<b>Trade / Calling</b> Pit sawyer		
<b>Offence / Sentence</b> Machine breaking. Transported for 14 years.			
<b>County</b> Sussex	<b>Transport</b> Eliza		
<b>Remarks</b> Single. Was the son of Arthur Binstead.			
<b>Convict Conduct Record in VDL</b> Binstead was convicted of seven offences from 1832 to 1835. Most of them related to drinking and disobedience, but there were two convictions of interest. On December 24, 1834 he was convicted of eating a fellow prisoner's food and, as part of the sentence, his meat ration was delivered to the other convict. On Jan 1, 1835, he was convicted of taking a saw from a building site to work for his own benefit without permission and was sentenced to 14 days in leg irons.			
<b>Narrative of life in VDL</b> Upon arrival, Binstead was assigned to the Public Works. It is quite likely that, as a pit sawyer, he would have been teamed with his father Arthur, who was a top sawyer. He had a string of convictions for disobedience but they were not serious enough to prevent him getting his free pardon on 24 April 1837. A year later, on 16 April 1838, he married Elizabeth Trotman in Hobart and eventually they had eleven children. They went to Penrith in NSW, where family tradition has it that George worked as a warden for a period. (His brother John had been assigned in the Penrith area as a convict). In about 1856, they returned to Melbourne, where Elizabeth had relatives. George set up business as a carter in the town, with his own horse and dray. George's mother Maria also went to live in Melbourne after Arthur's death in Brisbane.			
<b>Death / Final record</b> George Binstead died in Melbourne in 1867, after a fall from his dray.			
<b>References</b> Records supplied by Marie Kau.			

<b>Name</b>	BISHOP, Thomas	<b>AKA</b>	
<b>Age 29</b>	<b>Trade / Calling</b> Ploughman		
<b>Offence / Sentence</b> Machine breaking. Transported for 14 years.			
<b>County</b> Gloucestershire.	<b>Transport</b> Eliza		
<b>Remarks</b> Widower with one child.			

<b>Convict Conduct Record in VDL</b> No offences recorded.
<b>Narrative of life in VDL</b> Upon arrival, Bishop was assigned to the VDL Company. The Company's records indicate that he must have remained as a servant with the Company for a few months after he received his ticket of leave, but he had certainly moved on by the time he received his free pardon on 24 April 1837.
<b>Death / Final record</b> It is possible that Bishop died in Bothwell in 1879.
<b>References</b>

Name		BLAKE, Robert	AKA
Age 26		Trade / Calling Shoemaker	
Offence / Sentence Machine breaking. Transported for 7 years.			
County Wiltshire		Transport Eliza	
Remarks Single. One previous conviction for poaching. His brother Shadrach had been sentenced for the same machine breaking episode, but did not make it to the <i>York</i> until the day after the Eliza sailed. As a result, Shadrach was transported to NSW on the <i>Eleanor</i> instead.			
Convict Conduct Record in VDL Aug 6 1832 - committed for trial for uttering a counterfeit coin. The trial never appears to have taken place, however.			
Narrative of life in VDL Upon arrival, Blake was assigned to Archibald McDowell of "Logan" near Bothwell and appears to have remained with him until he received his ticket of leave in 1835. Two weeks after receiving his ticket, Blake married Mary Bowden (who was the daughter of an emancipist, although some accounts suggest that her father was a free settler) and they eventually had nine children. He went into partnership with his brother - in-law to lease a farm in the Bothwell district. Later, he went to the Victorian goldfields for almost a year with three partners and they netted 1000 pounds each. By 1858, he had his own farm and stone house, as well as owning three other houses in the township. By 1872, he owned seven rental properties in the township. He had also become heavily involved in the church life of the town and was one of the signatories to a petition for a resident Church of England chaplain to be appointed in the town and, later, helped build the town's Wesleyan church. His sons went on to establish a major brewery and become large landowners in the colony.			
Death / Final record Died in 1873, a substantial landholder, in Bothwell.			
References Information and records provided by David Milne.			

Name		BLANDFORD, James		AKA	
Age 29		Trade / Calling Ploughman			
Offence / Sentence Riotous assembly, attacking Yeomanry and machine breaking. Transported for 14 years.					
County Wiltshire			Transport Eliza		
Remarks Widower with one child. One previous conviction for stealing.					
Convict Conduct Record in VDL No convictions recorded.					

<b>Narrative of life in VDL</b> Upon arrival, Blandford was assigned to the Reverend Dr Brown, who had been gazetted to St James Church in Launceston. He remained on Brown's property until he died 18 months later.
<b>Death / Final record</b> Died, January 1833 in Launceston.
<b>References</b> ADB

<b>Name</b> BOXALL, Thomas	<b>AKA</b>
<b>Age</b> 24	<b>Trade / Calling</b> Brickmaker
<b>Offence / Sentence</b> Machine breaking. Transported for 14 years.	
<b>County</b> Sussex	<b>Transport</b> Eliza
<b>Remarks</b> Single	
<b>Convict Conduct Record in VDL</b> Nov 20, 1831 - Neglect of duty, idleness - Reprimanded. Nov 3, 1835 - Drunkenness and insolence - 50 lashes. May 28, 1839 - Assaulting constables in execution of their guilty - found not guilty.	
<b>Narrative of life in VDL</b> Upon arrival, Boxall was assigned to the Public Works loan gang. He received a free pardon on 24 April 1837 and, apart from an obscure reference to a trial in 1839, he seems to disappear from history.	
<b>Death / Final record</b> There is no record of Boxall after 1839, and it is assumed he left the colony.	
<b>References</b>	

<b>Name</b> BOYES, John	<b>AKA</b>
<b>Age</b> 50	<b>Trade / Calling</b> Farmer
<b>Offence / Sentence</b> Robbery (Although he stated his offence as being "conspiracy to raise wages"). Transported for 7 years.	
<b>County</b> Hampshire	<b>Transport</b> Eliza
<b>Remarks</b> Married with ten children (wife Faith).	
<b>Convict Conduct Record in VDL</b> Feb 21, 1834 - Drunkenness - reprimanded.	
<b>Narrative of life in VDL</b> Upon arrival, Boyes was assigned to W.C. Brown. By 1833, however, he had been re-assigned to the Public Works and was working as a watchman. He received a free pardon on 15 December 1835 and immediately returned to England.	
<b>Death / Final record</b> Boyes was still alive in 1851 in England, working a farm with five labourers. He died in 1856.	
<b>References</b> CON 31/4.	

<b>Name</b> BRIND, Thomas	<b>AKA</b>
<b>Age</b> 38	<b>Trade / Calling</b> Blacksmith
<b>Offence / Sentence</b> Robbery. Transported for 7 years.	

County Wiltshire	Transport Eliza
<b>Remarks</b> Married with four children (wife Hannah).	
<b>Convict Conduct Record in VDL</b> Dec 19, 1833 - Beating a fellow convict - 50 lashes. Same date - bringing spirits into masters house and making the female servants drunk - hard labour for 12 months.	
<b>Narrative of life in VDL</b> Upon arrival, Brind was assigned to a Mr Harrison - (probably Robert Harrison of Antill Ponds) and stayed with him until his serious convictions at the end of 1833. After his 12 months on the road party, he was assigned to Captain McLean, with whom he remained until he received his free pardon on 3 February 1836.	
<b>Death / Final record</b> Died in Tasmania in 1860.	
<b>References</b>	

<b>Name</b> BROADWAY, Henry		<b>AKA</b>
<b>Age</b> 33	<b>Trade / Calling</b> Shepherd	
<b>Offence / Sentence</b> Machine breaking. Transported for 7 years.		
<b>County</b> Wiltshire		<b>Transport</b> Eliza
<b>Remarks</b> Married with no children (wife Lucy).		
<b>Convict Conduct Record in VDL</b> No offences recorded.		
<b>Narrative of life in VDL</b> Upon arrival, Broadway was assigned to James Cox JP, who held significant properties in the north of the colony. He remained on one of Cox's properties until he received his ticket of leave in 1835. He received his free pardon on 3 February 1836 and, by 1841, had returned to England.		
<b>Death / Final record</b> Died in England in 1853		
<b>References</b> ADB.		

<b>Name</b> BROWN, Thomas		<b>AKA</b>
<b>Age</b> 19	<b>Trade / Calling</b> Groom	
<b>Offence / Sentence</b> Sending a threatening letter. Transported for life.		
<b>County</b> Sussex	<b>Transport</b> Eliza	
<b>Remarks</b> Single		
<b>Convict Conduct Record in VDL</b> Feb 20, 1835 - Disobedience of orders - refusing to work on New Years Day - Admonished.		
<b>Narrative of life in VDL</b> Upon arrival, Brown was assigned to the VDL Company and remained with the Company until he received his conditional pardon in April 1838. There is no record of him having remained on the Company's pay as an employee thereafter.		
<b>Death / Final record</b> There is no record of Brown after he received his conditional pardon in 1837. Presumably, he left the colony some time thereafter.		

## References

Name	BROWN, William	AKA
Age 33	Trade / Calling Ploughman	
Offence / Sentence Machine breaking. Transported for 7 years.		
County Kent	Transport Eliza	
Remarks Married with no children (wife Sarah on the parish).		
Convict Conduct Record in VDL Apr 8, 1833 - Drunk - Cell on b&w for 4 days. Apr 22, 1833 - Driving a cart furiously on New Town Road - Treadwheel for 10 days. Aug 8, 1833 - Suspicion of receiving stolen leather - 6 months Constitution Hill Work Party.		
Narrative of life in VDL Upon arrival, Brown was assigned to Thomas Rowley of Launceston. By 1833 he had been re-assigned to William Gunn. Following his sudden outburst of offences in 1833 he was finally sent to a work party. It is not clear whether he was returned to Gunn or re-assigned at the expiration of his sentence but he appeared to stay out of trouble thereafter and was granted a free pardon on 3 February 1836.		
Death / Final record There is no record of Brown after he received his free pardon in 1836 and it is assumed he left the colony thereafter.		
References		

Name	BURDEN, James	AKA
Age 36	Trade / Calling Ploughman	
Offence / Sentence Machine breaking (two offences). Transported for 7 years.		
County Wiltshire	Transport Eliza	
Remarks Married with five children (wife Mary Ann). One previous conviction for leaving his family. Burden's youngest child, Rebekah, was born while he was on the <i>York</i> , awaiting transportation.		
Convict Conduct Record in VDL No convictions recorded.		
Narrative of life in VDL Upon arrival, Burden was noted for assignment to George Hull of Tolosa who was an assistant director general of roads. By 1832 Burden was working for Thomas Brough and he remained with him until he received his ticket of leave in 1835. He received his free pardon 3 February 1836.		
Death / Final record There is no record of Burden after he received his free pardon in 1836 and it is assumed he left the colony.		
References <i>ADB</i>		

Name	BURGE, Charles	AKA
Age 19	Trade / Calling Carpenter, joiner	
Offence / Sentence Machine breaking. Transported for 14 years.		

County Sussex	Transport Eliza
<b>Remarks Single.</b> Had been sent to trial twice in England - once for manslaughter and once for offering a pound and taking his father's horse out. On the first occasion he was acquitted and on the second he was discharged.	
<b>Convict Conduct Record in VDL</b> Burge had a bad record of disobedience, gathering thirteen appearances in four years. Most convictions were for neglect, disobedience and being absent from musters. But two of the convictions related to him using PW tools and materials to take outside work for his own benefit.	
<b>Narrative of life in VDL</b> Upon arrival, Burge was assigned to the Public Works Loan Gang and, despite a lengthy record of disobedience, was retained until he received his conditional pardon on 5 April 1838. This was later supplanted by a free pardon on 2 June 1842.	
<b>Death / Final record</b> There is no record of Burge after he received his free pardon in 1842 and it is assumed he then left the colony.	
<b>References</b>	

<b>Name</b> BURT, Thomas		<b>AKA</b>
<b>Age</b> 26	<b>Trade / Calling</b> Although he is described as a ploughman on the Assignment List, Burt is described as a top sawyer in other records.	
<b>Offence / Sentence</b> Machine breaking. Transported for 7 years.		
<b>County</b> Wiltshire		<b>Transport</b> Eliza
<b>Remarks</b> Married with three children (wife Ann). Two previous convictions for poaching and stealing wood.		
<b>Convict Conduct Record in VDL</b> Oct 1, 1832 - Drunk - fined 5/-. Feb 23, 1835 - Absent without leave - Reprimanded. Oct 10, 1835 - absent from monthly muster for t. of l. holders - Ordered to muster for the next 6 Sundays.		
<b>Narrative of life in VDL</b> Upon arrival, Burt was assigned to the Public Works and appears to have remained with them until he received his ticket of leave on 20 August 1835. In October 1834, he applied for his wife and three children to receive assisted passage to the colony: Although granted, it would appear his family did not come out to the colony. He received his free pardon on 3 February 1836.		
<b>Death / Final record</b> There is no record of Burt after he received his free pardon in 1836 and it is assumed he left the colony.		
<b>References</b>		

<b>Name</b> BUSHELL Stephen		<b>AKA</b>
<b>Age</b> 28	<b>Trade / Calling</b> Ploughman	
<b>Offence / Sentence</b> Machine breaking. Transported for 7 years.		
<b>County</b> Kent		<b>Transport</b> Eliza
<b>Remarks</b> Single.		



Stephen Bushell was sentenced in the same court and on the same day as William Bushell, so it is likely that they were related in some way.
<b>Convict Conduct Record in VDL</b> No convictions recorded
<b>Narrative of life in VDL</b> Upon arrival, Bushell was assigned to Thomas Towley in Launceston and appears to have remained with Towley until he received his ticket of leave in 1835. He received his free pardon on 3 February 1836.
<b>Death / Final record</b> There is no record of Bushell after he received his free pardon in 1836. It is most likely he left the colony shortly thereafter.
<b>References</b>

<b>Name</b> BUSHELL, William		<b>AKA</b>
<b>Age</b> 18	<b>Trade / Calling</b> Ploughman	
<b>Offence / Sentence</b> Machine breaking. Transported for 7 years.		
<b>County</b> Kent		<b>Transport</b> Eliza
<b>Remarks</b> Single		
<b>Convict Conduct Record in VDL</b> No convictions recorded.		
<b>Narrative of life in VDL</b> Bushell was already ill when he arrived in Hobart Town, and although nominally assigned to Mr Williamson at Norfolk Plains, he never left hospital.		
<b>Death / Final record</b> Bushell died in Hobart on 9 July 1831.		
<b>References</b>		

<b>Name</b> CALLENDER, Robert		<b>AKA</b> Cullender.
<b>Age</b> 18	<b>Trade / Calling</b> Ploughman	
<b>Offence / Sentence</b> Machine breaking. Transported for 7 years.		
<b>County</b> Essex		<b>Transport</b> Eliza
<b>Remarks</b> Single		
<b>Convict Conduct Record in VDL</b> Sept 29, 1835-Having mutton in his possession and not being able to give a satisfactory account of the same - 6 months hard labour- but pardoned in consequence of giving information in relation to sheep stealers (9 Oct, 1835). Nov 5, 1835 - Found in a disorderly house with a female prisoner - admonished.		
<b>Narrative of life in VDL</b> Upon arrival, Callender was assigned to William Allerdyce at the Clyde and appears to have remained with him until he received his ticket of leave. Apart from his brushes with the law in late 1835, (possibly after he received his ticket of leave) he led a quiet life, and received his free pardon on 3 February 1836.		
<b>Death / Final record</b> There is no record of Callender after the granting of his free pardon in 1836, and it is		

assumed he left the colony thereafter.

# References

<b>Name</b>	CAMEL(L), Edward	<b>AKA</b>	
<b>Age</b>	33	<b>Trade / Calling</b>	Farm labourer
<b>Offence / Sentence</b> Machine breaking. Transported for 7 years.			
<b>County</b>	Oxfordshire	<b>Transport</b>	Eliza
<b>Remarks</b> Single			
<b>Convict Conduct Record in VDL</b> No convictions recorded.			
<b>Narrative of life in VDL</b> Upon arrival, Camel was assigned to the VDL Company. He appears to have remained with the Company until he received his ticket of leave, and then he simply disappeared. Unlike many of his companions, he did not remain with the Company after receiving his ticket. He received his free pardon on 3 February 1836.			
<b>Death / Final record</b> There is no record of Camel after he received his free pardon in 1836, and it is assumed he left the colony thereafter.			
<b>References</b> VDL 225			

<b>Name</b>	CASE, James	<b>AKA</b>	
<b>Age</b>	44	<b>Trade / Calling</b>	Ploughman
<b>Offence / Sentence</b> Machine breaking. Transported for 7 years.			
<b>County</b>	Wiltshire	<b>Transport</b>	Eliza
<b>Remarks</b> Married with four children (Wife Ann on the parish). His wife Ann had another child in 1836.			
<b>Convict Conduct Record in VDL</b> 8 Nov, 1833 - Disobedience- treadwheel 6 days. 14 Jan 1834 - drunk and asleep on duty - treadwheel 6 days.			
<b>Narrative of life in VDL</b> Upon arrival, Case was assigned to Captain William De Gillern in Richmond, but he was soon moved to the Public Works. Later, he was employed as a watchman, but his neglect of duty saw him lose that position. He was then assigned to the Government Hospital but by 1835 he had been re-assigned to Mr A McDowall. He received his free pardon on 3 February 1836.			
<b>Death / Final record</b> Died at Hobart, 4 June 1867.			
<b>References</b>			

<b>Name</b>	CHAMP, David	<b>AKA</b>	
<b>Age</b>	21	<b>Trade / Calling</b>	Ploughman
<b>Offence / Sentence</b> Assault and robbery, although like many, he stated his offence as "machine breaking".			

Transported for 7 years.	
County Hampshire	Transport Eliza
<b>Remarks</b> Single. Champ was the brother-in-law of Joseph Mason.	
<b>Convict Conduct Record in VDL</b> No convictions recorded.	
<b>Narrative of life in VDL</b> Upon arrival, Champ was assigned to William Kermode's property at Mona vale. Kermode was one of the most progressive of the colony's early settlers and Mona Vale was regarded as a showplace for colonial pastoralism. Champ remained on the property after he received his ticket of leave in 1835. He received his free pardon in March 1836. In 1840 Champ married Dorcas Smith, a free woman, and they continued to live and work at Mona Vale. There were no children from this match and Dorcas died in 1857. The next year, Champ married Mary Harvey and they had ten children. By 1872, Champ owned a house, market garden and 50 acres of grazing land at Kempton. By 1874, he had moved to Hobart and his occupation was described as "carrier".	
<b>Death / Final record</b> Died in Hobart in May, 1892.	
<b>References</b> ADB	

<b>Name</b>	CHUBB, Joseph	<b>AKA</b>	Harvey Chubb
<b>Age</b> 37	<b>Trade / Calling</b> Ploughman		
<b>Offence / Sentence</b> Machine breaking. Transported for 14 years.			
<b>County</b> Wiltshire	<b>Transport</b> Eliza		
<b>Remarks</b> Married with three children (wife Jane).			
<b>Convict Conduct Record in VDL</b> Aug 10 1831- Gross indecency - reprimanded.			
<b>Narrative of life in VDL</b> Upon arrival, Chubb was assigned to a Mr Armitage and appears to have remained with him until at least 1835. He did not receive a ticket of leave, and was still in service when he received a conditional pardon in April 1838.			
<b>Death / Final record</b> There is no record of Chubb after he received his conditional pardon in 1838, and it is assumed he left the colony thereafter.			
<b>References</b>			

<b>Name</b>	COLE, Richard	<b>AKA</b>	
<b>Age</b> 37	<b>Trade / Calling</b> Ploughman		
<b>Offence / Sentence</b> Machine breaking. Transported for 7 years.			
<b>County</b> Gloucestershire	<b>Transport</b> Eliza		
<b>Remarks</b> Married with three children (wife Ann on the parish)			
<b>Convict Conduct Record in VDL</b> No convictions recorded.			

**Narrative of life in VDL** Upon arrival, Cole was assigned to the VDL Company and appears to have remained there until he received his ticket of leave. Unlike many of the machine breakers who worked at the Company's estates, he must have chosen not to stay on for wages after receiving his ticket. He received his free pardon on 3 February, 1836.

**Death / Final record** Cole left Launceston on the *Rebecca* for a sealing expedition in January 1837. It is unknown whether he returned on it two months later or, if he did, whether he remained in the colony.

**References**

<b>Name</b>	COLE, William	<b>AKA</b>
<b>Age</b> 46	<b>Trade / Calling</b> Ploughman	
<b>Offence / Sentence</b> Machine breaking. Transported for 7 years.		
<b>County</b> Essex	<b>Transport</b> Eliza	
<b>Remarks</b> Married with ten children (wife Ann on the parish).		
<b>Convict Conduct Record in VDL</b> Nov 5, 1833 - Neglect of duty - to be returned to the brickfields.		
<b>Narrative of life in VDL</b> Upon arrival, Cole was assigned to Thomas Hammond at New Norfolk. By 1833 he was working at the Brickfields, and had been loaned out to Mr Degraives, where he was convicted of neglect of duty. He was returned to the Brickfields where, presumably, he remained until he received his ticket of leave. He received his free pardon on 3 February 1836.		
<b>Death / Final record</b> Cole accompanied J.H. Wedge to Port Phillip on the <i>Industry</i> in January 1838 as a servant and almost certainly remained in the new colony.		
<b>References</b>		

<b>Name</b>	COLLINS, George	<b>AKA</b>
<b>Age</b> 24	<b>Trade / Calling</b> Ploughman	
<b>Offence / Sentence</b> Illegal assembly, extorting money. Transported for 7 years.		
<b>County</b> Hampshire	<b>Transport</b> Eliza	
<b>Remarks</b> Married with one child (wife Catherine on the parish). Collins' daughter was one month old when he joined the riots.  It is likely that John Collins was a relative of his - possibly a cousin. Equally, both his and John's wife shared the same maiden name of Luke.		
<b>Convict Conduct Record in VDL</b> Jan 27, 1835 - Being intoxicated - reprimanded.		
<b>Narrative of life in VDL</b> Upon arrival, Collins was assigned to Mr Canttarden at Sorell and remained with him until he received his ticket of leave in 1835. He received his free pardon on 3 February 1836. The following year he married Mary McCaul, a convict woman, at Sorell, where he had been assigned. The fact that he also died in Sorell suggests that he and Mary settled in that area.		
<b>Death / Final record</b> Died at Sorell, May 1859.		

References		
Name	COLLINS, John	AKA
Age 33	Trade / Calling Ploughman	
Offence / Sentence Illegal assembly and extortion. Transported for 7 years.		
County Hampshire	Transport Eliza	
Remarks Married with six children (wife Sarah on the parish). Collins may not have known at the time he was transported that Sarah was pregnant again, having their sixth child in August 1831.		
Convict Conduct Record in VDL No convictions recorded.		
Narrative of life in VDL Upon arrival, Collins was assigned to Captain Patrick Wood JP (of the Honourable Easyt India Company Service) at 'Dennistoun', Bothwell. He appears to have remained on Wood's property until he received his ticket of leave in 1835. He received his free pardon on 3 February 1836.		
Death / Final record Collins returned to England after receiving his free pardon in 1836 and in 1838 applied for assisted passage for himself and his family to emigrate to South Australia. Assistance was refused on the ground that he had previously been transported.		
References HRA Series III, Vol VII, p.774.		

<b>Name</b> COMPTON, Henry		<b>AKA</b>
<b>Age</b> 27	<b>Trade / Calling</b> Farmer's labourer	
<b>Offence / Sentence</b> Machine breaking. Transported for 14 years.		
<b>County</b> Gloucestershire	<b>Transport</b> Eliza	
<b>Remarks</b> Married with two children (wife Maria on the parish).		
<b>Convict Conduct Record in VDL</b> Aug 31, 1832 - Absent from work, drunk and insolent to master - (x) lashes. April 14, 1835 - Drunkenness, neglect of duty - 30 lashes.		
<b>Narrative of life in VDL</b> Upon arrival, Compton was assigned to James Cox JP of South Esk and appears to have remained with him until he received his free pardon on 24 April, 1837.  In October 1831, he sought permission for his wife and children to receive assisted passage out to the colony. This was granted in January 1832, but there is no evidence they ever arrived. Perhaps his first outburst of disobedience in late 1832 was due to receiving word from England that his wife did not wish to make the dangerous journey to the colony with their children.		
<b>Death / Final record</b> There is no record of Compton after he received his free pardon in 1837 and it is assumed he left the colony.		
<b>References</b>		

<b>Name</b>	COOK, William	<b>AKA</b>
<b>Age</b> 38	<b>Trade / Calling</b> Carpenter, wheelwright	

<b>Offence / Sentence</b> Machine breaking, extortion. Transported for 7 years.	
<b>County</b> Wiltshire	<b>Transport</b> Eliza
<b>Remarks</b> Married (wife Ann keeps a grocer's shop)	
<b>Convict Conduct Record in VDL</b> July 16, 1832 - drunk - reprimanded Aug 13, 1832 - drunk - to be deprived of working for himself for the next four Saturdays. Apr 8, 1833 - out after hours and representing himself to be free - treadwheel for 10 days. Mar 4, 1834 - absent - admonished Apr 27, 1835 - drunk and absent - to sleep in prisoners' barracks for 6 months. Aug 10, 1835 - drunk - treadwheel for 10 Saturday afternoons.	
<b>Narrative of life in VDL</b> Upon arrival, Cook was assigned to the Public Works and remained there until he received his free pardon on 3 February 1836. His regular misbehaviour appears to have prevented him from receiving a ticket of leave in mid 1835, like many of his fellow machine breakers.	
<b>Death / Final record</b> There is no firm record of Cook's activities after he received his free pardon in 1836. There is some evidence he left the colony that year for Port Phillip.	
<b>References</b>	

<b>Name</b> COOPER, James		<b>AKA</b>
<b>Age</b> 29	<b>Trade / Calling</b> Ploughman	
<b>Offence / Sentence</b> Robbery and machine breaking. Transported for 7 years.		
<b>County</b> Hampshire	<b>Transport</b> Eliza	
<b>Remarks</b> Widower with one child.		
<b>Convict Conduct Record in VDL</b> No convictions recorded.		
<b>Narrative of life in VDL</b> Upon arrival, Cooper was assigned to the Public Works and remained there until he received his ticket of leave in 1835. He received his free pardon on 3 February 1836.		
<b>Death / Final record</b> Cooper returned to England some time after he received his free pardon in 1836. He was still alive in 1852, and still working as an agricultural labourer. Fox refers to a short monograph about the village of East Woodhay by L Hodgson, published in 1932, which briefly mentioned the return of James Cooper to the district; apparently he lived for many years after his return in a thatched cottage at Ball Hill, near Newbury The cottage was still standing in 1932.		
<b>References</b> N Fox, <i>Berkshire to Botany Bay</i> p.148,		

Name		COWLEY, Robert	AKA
Age 26		Trade / Calling Ploughman	
Offence / Sentence Machine breaking. Transported for 7 years.			
County Gloucestershire		Transport Eliza	
Remarks Married with one child (wife on the parish).			

<b>Convict Conduct Record in VDL</b> No convictions recorded.
<b>Narrative of life in VDL</b> Upon arrival, Cowley was assigned to the VDL Company. When he received his ticket of leave in 1835 he went onto the Company's books as a free labourer and stayed with the Company until the end of 1837, mostly working at the Hampshire Hills estate. He had received his free pardon on 3 February 1836.
<b>Death / Final record</b> Cowley died in Hobart in 1881.
<b>References</b>

<b>Name</b> CROCKFORD, Hurlock(h)		<b>AKA</b>
<b>Age</b> 27	<b>Trade / Calling</b> Ploughman	
<b>Offence / Sentence</b> Machine breaking. Transported for 7 years.		
<b>County</b> Sussex		<b>Transport</b> Eliza
<b>Remarks</b> Single. Crockford already had two convictions in England for assaulting a constable and his gaol report described him as a Very Bad Character.		
<b>Convict Conduct Record in VDL</b> Jan 8, 1834 - insubordination - 50 lashes. Mar 8, 1834 - neglect of duty and suspicion of purloining rum his master's property - cell on b&w for 48 hours. Oct 8 1835 - absent from master's premises under very suspicious circumstances-reprimanded and discharged.		
<b>Narrative of life in VDL</b> Upon arrival, Crockford was assigned to Richard Willis JP (and later a Legislative Councillor) of Epping and remained with him until 1834, when he was re-assigned to Dr Pilkington. He received his free pardon on 24 April 1837.		
<b>Death / Final record</b> There is no record of Crockford after he received his free pardon in 1837 and it is assumed he left the colony thereafter.		
<b>References</b> ADB		

<b>Name</b>		<b>CURTIS,</b>  <b>William</b>	<b>AKA</b>
<b>Age</b> 46		<b>Trade / Calling</b> Ploughman	
<b>Offence / Sentence</b> Machine breaking. Transported for 7 years.			
<b>County</b> Essex		<b>Transport</b> Eliza	
<b>Remarks</b> Married (wife Elizabeth on the parish).  Previous conviction for leaving his master.			
<b>Convict Conduct Record in VDL</b> No convictions recorded.			
<b>Narrative of life in VDL</b> Upon arrival, Curtis was assigned to James Simpson (Police Magistrate) of Campbell Town and appears to have continued working on Simpson's property until he received his ticket of leave in 1835. In November 1832, Curtis successfully applied for his wife Elizabeth to receive assisted passage out to the colony, but she did not take up the offer.  He received his free pardon on 3 February 1836.			

**Death / Final record** Curtis left the colony on the vessel *Rhoda* bound for London in March 1837.

Accompanying him was a fellow machine breaker, Cromwell Potter of Suffolk. Both went as steerage passengers.

**References** *ADB*

<b>Name</b>	DAVEY, George	<b>AKA</b>	
<b>Age</b> 20	<b>Trade / Calling</b> Ploughman		
<b>Offence / Sentence</b> Machine breaking. Transported for 14 years.			
<b>County</b> Essex		<b>Transport</b> Eliza	
<b>Remarks</b> Single			
<p><b>Convict Conduct Record in VDL</b> Feb 3 1832 - Neglect of duty and improper and insolent language to his master - 25 lashes.</p> <p>Jul 18, 1835 - Neglect of duty - 3 days b&amp;w.</p> <p>Jul 24, 1835 - Neglect of duty and keeping to his bed - 3 months imprisonment and not to be returned to his master.</p> <p>March 6, 1837 - Failed to attend church - fined 5/-.</p> <p>June 28, 1842 - Unknown crime - transported for 2 years.</p> <p>Oct 29, 1842 - Refusing to work - 3 days solitary.</p> <p>Nov 2, 1842 - Refusing to work - 3 days solitary.</p> <p>March 22, 1843 - Misconduct - 5 days solitary.</p>			
<p><b>Narrative of life in VDL</b> Upon arrival, Davey was assigned to John Sherwin of Clyde, but his offences led to him being sent to the Glenorchy Road Party in 1835.</p> <p>He received a free pardon on 24 April 1837, but an unknown crime in 1842 led to his imprisonment for a further period. While on the Road Gang, he accumulated more convictions for refusing to work and did not receive a conditional pardon until 1847.</p>			
<b>Death / Final record</b> There is no record of Davey after he received his conditional pardon in 1847 and it is likely he left the colony thereafter.			
<b>References</b>			

<b>Name</b>	DICKETT(S), Henry	<b>AKA</b>	
<b>Age</b> 20	<b>Trade / Calling</b> Bricklayer, plasterer.		
<b>Offence / Sentence</b> Machine breaking. Transported for 7 years.			
<b>County</b> Wiltshire		<b>Transport</b> Eliza	
<b>Remarks</b> Single.			
<p><b>Convict Conduct Record in VDL</b> Apr 16, 1832 - working for himself - admonished.</p> <p>Apr 29, 1832 - Idle and neglecting his duty - 3 days hard labour.</p>			
<b>Narrative of life in VDL</b> Upon arrival, Dicketts was assigned to the Public Works and remained there until he			



received his ticket of leave in 1835. He received his free pardon on 3 February 1836.
<b>Death / Final record</b> There is no record of Dicketts after he received his free pardon in 1836 and it is assumed he left the colony thereafter.
<b>References</b>

<b>Name</b> DOR(E)Y, James		<b>AKA</b>
<b>Age 27</b>	<b>Trade / Calling</b> Ploughman	
<b>Offence / Sentence</b> Machine breaking. Transported for 7 years.		
<b>County</b> Sussex	<b>Transport</b> Eliza	
<b>Remarks</b> Single. One prior conviction for poaching.		
<b>Convict Conduct Record in VDL</b> No convictions recorded.		
<b>Narrative of life in VDL</b> Upon arrival, Dorey was assigned to Captain J C Dumas (formerly of the 63 <sup>rd</sup> Regiment) and appears to have remained with him until he received his ticket of leave in 1835. He received his free pardon on 24 April 1837.		
<b>Death / Final record</b> There is no record of Dorey after he received his free pardon in 1836 and it is assumed he left the colony thereafter.		
<b>References</b> ADB.		

Name		DUKE, John	AKA	
Age 20		Trade / Calling Carter, labourer		
Offence / Sentence Machine breaking. Transported for 7 years.				
County Hampshire			Transport Eliza	
Remarks Single. Previous convictions in England for stealing timber, poaching and cutting a fence. He was also punished on board the <i>Eliza</i> on the voyage out for a minor offence.				
Convict Conduct Record in VDL Nov 19, 1833 - Insolence - admonished. Feb 20, 1835 - Refusing to work on New Years Day, alleging it to be a holiday - admonished. Apr 13, 1835 - Neglect of duty and idleness - admonished. Mar 10, 1836 - Disobedience - admonished. Apr 6, 1837 - T of L holder, being out without a pass - reprimanded.				
Narrative of life in VDL Upon arrival, Duke was assigned to the VDL Company. He definitely remained with the Company until late 1835, when it began paying him a wage, which suggests he received his ticket of leave then, although the official records are unclear. His last pay was made out in March 1836. Most of his time had been spent at the Woolnorth estate. He received his free pardon in November 1837. It appears that he may have left the colony in late 1839 although his certificate of freedom was not formally issued until 1840 (No. 283 of 1840).				

**Death / Final record** Duke probably departed the colony from Launceston on the *Elizabeth*, bound for Port Phillip in December 1839.

**References**

<b>Name</b>	DUNK, James	<b>AKA</b>
<b>Age</b> 35	<b>Trade / Calling</b> Ploughman	
<b>Offence / Sentence</b> Machine breaking. Transported for 7 years.		
<b>County</b> Kent	<b>Transport</b> Eliza	
<b>Remarks</b> Married with five children (wife Frances on the parish).		
<b>Convict Conduct Record in VDL</b> May 13, 1834 - Neglect of duty - reprimanded. June 9, 1834 - Drunk and disorderly - cell on b&w for 3 days. Jan 2 1836 - Absenting himself from service without leave - discharged, he having an order for his ticket of leave.		
<b>Narrative of life in VDL</b> Upon arrival, Dunk was assigned to the property of John Riseley of Ouse. Riseley was the manager of Edward Lord's much larger property. Dunk appears to have remained on Riseley's own property until he received an order for his ticket of leave some time in late 1835 and then moved on. Riseley appears to have wanted to keep Dunk, however, and had him charged with absenting himself without leave. The magistrate discharged Dunk on the grounds that he had received an order for his ticket. He received his free pardon on 3 February 1836.		
<b>Death / Final record</b> There is no record of Dunk after he received his free pardon in 1836 and it is assumed he left the colony thereafter.		
<b>References</b>		

<b>Name</b>	DUNNETT, Charles	<b>AKA</b>
<b>Age</b> 44	<b>Trade / Calling</b> Ploughman	
<b>Offence / Sentence</b> Machine breaking. Transported for 14 years.		
<b>County</b> Essex	<b>Transport</b> Eliza	
<b>Remarks</b> Married with six children (wife Mary on the parish). Had been sixteen years in service in England.		
<b>Convict Conduct Record in VDL</b> N/A		
<b>Narrative of life in VDL</b> Dunnett was already ill when he disembarked from the Eliza. Although he was entered in the Assignment List for assignment to Roderick O'Connor, he was never assigned, dying in the Hospital in Hobart within a month.		
<b>Death / Final record</b> Died 4 July 1831.		
<b>References</b>		

<b>Name</b>	DURHAM, William	<b>AKA</b>
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Age 22	Trade / Calling Blacksmith
Offence / Sentence Machine breaking. Transported for 7 years.	
County Wiltshire	Transport Eliza
<b>Remarks Single.</b> Unusually for a machine breaker, Durham was born at Fort George in North America.	
<b>Convict Conduct Record in VDL</b> April 27, 1835 - Imposing on his master by laying a false accusation against Thomas Brown - 25 lashes.	
<b>Narrative of life in VDL</b> Upon arrival, Durham was assigned to Paul Minnett of Liffey and appears to have remained with him until he received his ticket of leave in 1835. He received his free pardon on 3 February 1836 and three weeks later, with the consent of Lieutenant Governor Arthur, married Mary Devign, a convict. It is unclear whether Devign was the same woman who sailed to Melbourne with him in 1851 as his wife.	
<b>Death / Final record</b> Durham sailed for Melbourne on the <i>Shamrock</i> on 22 June 1851, presumably with his wife.	
References	

Name		EDGEWORTH, James	AKA
Age 28		Trade / Calling Ploughman	
Offence / Sentence Machine breaking. Transported for 7 years.			
County Gloucestershire		Transport Eliza	
Remarks Single			
Convict Conduct Record in VDL No convictions recorded			
Narrative of life in VDL Upon arrival, Edgeworth was assigned to the VDL Company. After he received his ticket of leave he remained with the Company until 1840 as a paid servant, working mostly at Woolnorth and occasionally at Circular Head for a further two months.			
Death / Final record Died at Horton in Van Diemen's Land in 1849.			
References			

Name		EDGINGTON, Joseph.	AKA	
Age 49		Trade / Calling Ploughman		
Offence / Sentence Machine breaking. Transported for 14 years.				
County Gloucestershire.			Transport Eliza	
Remarks Married with four children (wife Elizabeth on the parish). Edgington was one of the few machine breakers who had moved away from his native place, having been born in Wiltshire but arrested and convicted in Gloucestershire.				
Convict Conduct Record in VDL 23 March 1835 - Insolence - admonished. 8 Dec 1835 - Gross disorderly conduct and assaulting fellow prisoner - 7 days solitary.				
Narrative of life in VDL Upon arrival, Edgington was assigned to the VDL Company. He received his free pardon on 24 April 1837 and left the Company, only to return from August 1838 to March 1840 as a paid				

servant stationed at Circular Head.
<b>Death / Final record</b> There is no record of Edgington after he left the employ of the VDL Company in 1840 and it is possible he left the colony thereafter, although he would have been more than 60 years old by then.
<b>References</b>

<b>Name</b> ELDRIDGE, Henry	<b>AKA</b>
<b>Age</b> 22	<b>Trade / Calling</b> Ploughman
<b>Offence / Sentence</b> Machine breaking. Transported for 7 years.	
<b>County</b> Gloucestershire	<b>Transport</b> Eliza
<b>Remarks</b> Single.	
<b>Convict Conduct Record in VDL</b> 23 February 1835 - Refusing to work on New Years Day - admonished.	
<b>Narrative of life in VDL</b> Upon arrival, Eldridge was assigned to the VDL Company and remained there until he received his ticket of leave in 1835. He then stayed on as a paid servant until at least July 1835 at Circular Head and received his free pardon on 3 February 1836.	
<b>Death / Final record</b> There is no record of Eldridge after he received his free pardon in 1836 and it is assumed he left the colony thereafter.	
<b>References</b>	

<b>Name</b> EL(L)TON, William	<b>AKA</b>
<b>Age</b> 24	<b>Trade / Calling</b> Top sawyer
<b>Offence / Sentence</b> Machine breaking (two charges). Transportation for 7 years.	
<b>County</b> Wiltshire	<b>Transport</b> Eliza
<b>Remarks</b> Married with one child (wife Jane).	
<b>Convict Conduct Record in VDL</b> No convictions recorded.	
<b>Narrative of life in VDL</b> Upon arrival, Elton was assigned to the Public Works and was on regular loan to settlers thereafter. His masters included the Reverend James Garrett of Bothwell, a Presbyterian minister who had once tutored Arthur's nephews.  Elton received his ticket of leave in June 1835 and free pardon on 3 February 1836.  By 1840 Elton was living in Port Phillip and that year he married Elizabeth Buckland. In 1842, by which time they were living in Geelong, she bore him twins.	
<b>Death / Final record</b> Died in Victoria in 1864.	
<b>References</b> ADB	

<b>Name</b> EYRES, John	<b>AKA</b>
<b>Age</b> There are varying official accounts of Eyre's	<b>Trade / Calling</b> Farm servant.

age, but he was baptised in 1790, which would have made him about 41.	
<b>Offence / Sentence</b> Machine breaking. Transported for 7 years.	
<b>County</b> Wiltshire	<b>Transport</b> Eliza
<b>Remarks</b> Married (wife Ann). Eyres had lost his right leg below the knee, which had apparently "perished by frost" and he walked on a wooden peg. He also bore a deep scar on his right elbow, a result of the King's Evil. Notwithstanding his obvious impediment, a Dr Porter, after examining him when he was received on the prison hulk <i>York</i> , passed him as fit for transportation because he did not consider him incapacitated for labour.	
<b>Convict Conduct Record in VDL</b> No convictions recorded.	
<b>Narrative of life in VDL</b> Upon arrival, Eyres was assigned to JVD Wise, but by 1832 had been re-assigned to a John Birdell (or it may be John Birchall, of Sorell), with whom he appears to have remained until he received his ticket of leave in 1835. He received his free pardon on 3 February 1836. Rudé and Hobsbawm believe that in October 1842, Eyres became licensee of the Cape of Good Hope Inn at Black Marsh, Oatlands and held it for three years before passing it on to William North, a fellow <i>Eliza</i> man.	
<b>Death / Final record</b> There is no record of Eyres after he sold this hotel in 1845, but he would have been well into his fifties by then, so it is unlikely that he would have left the colony afterwards.	
<b>References</b> PRO HO17/50, Pt 1 HP 11, Hobsbawm and Rudé, p. 277.	

<b>Name</b> FIELDER, Arthur		<b>AKA</b>
<b>Age</b> 43	<b>Trade / Calling</b> Carpenter, labourer.	
<b>Offence / Sentence</b> Assault, robbery (three shillings). Transported for 7 years.		
<b>County</b> Hampshire		<b>Transport</b> Eliza
<b>Remarks</b> Married with six children (wife Frances on the parish).		
<b>Convict Conduct Record in VDL</b> Jan 20, 1834 - disorderly conduct - reprimanded.		
<b>Narrative of life in VDL</b> Upon arrival, Fielder was assigned to the Public Works and remained there until he received his ticket of leave in 1835. He received his free pardon on 3 February 1836.		
<b>Death / Final record</b> There is no record of Fielder after he received his free pardon in 1836 and it is assumed he left the colony thereafter.		
<b>References</b>		

Name		FISHER, Joseph	AKA
Age 22		Trade / Calling Wheelwright, carpenter.	
Offence / Sentence Machine breaking. Transported for 7 years.			

County Oxfordshire	Transport Eliza
Remarks Married with one child (wife Mary).	
Convict Conduct Record in VDL No convictions recorded.	
<p><b>Narrative of life in VDL</b> Upon arrival, Fisher was assigned to the Public Works, although by 1832, he appears to have been re-assigned on a long term basis to John Lucas of Browns River (Kingston).</p> <p>In August 1832 he successfully applied for a free passage for his wife and son and they arrived on 4 September 1834. The records indicate that Mary and their son William had moved to live at Abingdon in Berkshire after Joseph had been transported. They had three more children in the colony.</p> <p>He received his free pardon on 3 February 1836 and settled in the Browns River area.</p> <p>Fisher became a minor success story in the district and a leader in the church. In 1843 he was appointed the local post master, but the following year resigned to become licensee of the Retreat Inn. He was also briefly licensee of the Longley Inn.</p> <p>Fisher also established the first coach service between Hobart and Browns River in 1845 and, in 1850, was one of the signatories to a petition to the Lieutenant Governor for the proclamation of a township in the district (Kingston).</p> <p>Following the death of Mary in 1855, he remarried in 1859. A year later, his estate was auctioned to cover his debts but he remained licensee of the Retreat Inn for another ten years, and his son continued running the coach service for him.</p>	
Death / Final record Died in Kingston , Tasmania in 1882 of congestion of the lung	
References R Fisher, The Fisher Line, MS, Hobart 1998., GO33/12 p.111 and GO 26/4, p.28.	

Name		FOOT(E), Thomas	AKA
Age 30		Trade / Calling Ploughman, farm labourer	
Offence / Sentence Machine breaking. Transported for 7 years.			
County Wiltshire		Transport Eliza	
Remarks Married with four children (wife Bridget). In his 1832 application for assisted passage for his family, he refers to her as 'Betsey'.			
Convict Conduct Record in VDL July 1, 1835 - Committed for trial for suspicion of stealing one ewe sheep the property of G P Ball. There is no record of what the outcome of the trial was, but the fact that Foot received his free pardon in February 1836 strongly suggests that he was either found not guilty or the matter did not proceed to trial.			
Narrative of life in VDL Upon arrival, Foot was assigned to the Reverend R. B. Davis and appears to have remained with him until 1834.			
In March 1832, Foot successfully applied for free passage for his wife and family. At the time, his wife and children were living at the workhouse at St Andrew, Donhead in Wiltshire. It is not known what date they arrived, but they certainly did make it to the colony some time after the middle of 1832.			
By 1835, he had been re-assigned to the Public Works and he received his ticket of leave in June of that year. He received his free pardon on 3 February 1836.			

From at least 1838 to 1841, and probably thereafter, the family were living at Morven (Perth).
<b>Death / Final record</b> Foot and his family lived in the colony until at least 1842. At some later date, they moved to Victoria and he died there in 1866.
<b>References</b> GO 33/10, p845 (No 427), CO 280/34 Reel 251, p.92.
Additional information supplied by Mrs E. Wilkinson.

Name	FORD, James	AKA	Sandle, Sandle Ford.
Age 19	Trade / Calling Carter,groom		
Offence / Sentence Machine breaking. Transported for 7 years.			
County Hampshire	Transport Eliza		
Remarks Single			
Convict Conduct Record in VDL No convictions recorded.			
<p><b>Narrative of life in VDL</b> Upon arrival, Ford was assigned to the VDL Company. He was one of the three machine breakers who appealed directly to the superintendent for his ticket of leave in 1835 and, after it was granted, worked as a paid servant for the Company at the Hampshire Hills until at least July 1836. He received his free pardon on 3 February 1836.</p> <p>In December 1836, Ford accompanied the pioneer JP Fawkner to Port Phillip on the <i>Enterprize</i> as a servant. In 1841, he married Hannah Sullivan (fellow machine breaker Samuel Morey was a witness at the ceremony) and farmed at Darebin Creek in North Melbourne. Later, with three other families (including Hannah's), he pioneered a settlement at Point Nepean, where he named his property "Portsea", from which the district later took its name. He became extremely wealthy during the Gold Rush, supplying vegetables to the fields. He also had a shipping business, limestone cutting and lime burning business (which employed twenty Chinese labourers), and owned a hotel.</p>			
Death / Final record Died in Victoria in 1854			
References Information supplied by Nepean Historical Society.			

<b>Name</b>		<b>FRIBBENS,</b>	<b>AKA</b>
		Robert	
<b>Age</b> 23		<b>Trade / Calling</b> Brickmaker	
<b>Offence / Sentence</b> Machine breaking. Transported for 7 years.			
<b>County</b> Wiltshire		<b>Transport</b> Eliza	
<b>Remarks</b> Single			
<b>Convict Conduct Record in VDL</b> Jun 6, 1834 - Being on premises of D O'Neal under suspicious circumstances - (x) months imprisonment under hard labour. Aug 12, 1834 - Disobedience - 20 lashes. Aug 25 1835 - Drunk and out after hours - 12 months hard labour. Jan 23, 1836 - Neglect of duty - 36 lashes. May 30, 1836 - Disrespectful conduct to magistrate - cell 14 nights.			

**Narrative of life in VDL** Upon arrival, Fribbens was assigned to the Public Works. After two and a half years of apparently good behaviour, he began to accumulate a series of convictions and his original sentence was extended twice. He spend much of his subsequent time on the Westbury Road Party. By August 1836, he had been assigned to a Captain Harold. He did not receive a ticket of leave and was still in service when he received a free pardon in April 1838.

**Death / Final record** There is no later record of Fribbens in the colony after he received his pardon in 1838 and it is assumed he left the colony.

#### References

<b>Name</b> GANGE, Thomas		<b>AKA</b> Gauge, John
<b>Age</b> 23	<b>Trade / Calling</b> Ploughman	
<b>Offence / Sentence</b> Machine breaking. Transported for 7 years.		
<b>County</b> Wiltshire		<b>Transport</b> Eliza
<b>Remarks</b> Single.		
<b>Convict Conduct Record in VDL</b> No convictions recorded.		
<b>Narrative of life in VDL</b> Upon arrival, Gange was assigned to John Darke Snr but by 1832 had been re-assigned to TC Simpson JP of Newman Park, with whom he remained until he received his ticket of leave in 1835. In January 1836 he was given permission to marry Margaret Robinson, a free woman, and they were married in Launceston two months later.  They had two children in the colony and sailed to Port Phillip in 1839. They had three more children in Victoria. In 1844, he was appoined by the "Lady Squatters of Geelong" (Anne Drysdale and Caroline Newcomb) to manage their sheep run at Coryule. They later gifted some land to the east of Drysdale to Gange in appreciation of his services as their station manager and he established Garrangil Farm. Gange became a founding member of the local Farmers Association and he later served on the local Road Rates Board and, even later, on the Shire Council. He also served, with Caroline Newcomb, as a member of the board of trustees for the Tuckfield Wesleyan Chapel in Drysdale. There are tombstones on the Garrangil property for five members of the Gange family.		
<b>Death / Final record</b> Gange died in Victoria in 1868.		
<b>References</b> J Richardson, <i>The Lady Squatters</i> , Bellarine Shire Council, Drysdale 1968.		

<b>Name</b> GOBLE, Edward		<b>AKA</b>
<b>Age</b> 41	<b>Trade / Calling</b> Butcher	
<b>Offence / Sentence</b> Machine breaking. Transported for 14 years.		
<b>County</b> Sussex		<b>Transport</b> Eliza
<b>Remarks</b> Single		
<b>Convict Conduct Record in VDL</b> Feb 14, 1833 - Abusing Mrs Goodwin and making use of gross language - treadwheel for 7 days.		



Jun 24, 1834 - Returned to Government Service not having been under proper control and recommended to be assigned in the interior.
<b>Narrative of life in VDL</b> Upon arrival, Goble was assigned to Mr Gilbert in Hobart, who probably owned a butcher's shop or ran a slaughterhouse. Goble was an unmanageable individual, however, and in 1834 was recommended for assignment to the interior. He received his free pardon on 24 April 1837.
<b>Death / Final record</b> There is no record of Goble after he received his free pardon in 1837 and it is assumed he left the colony thereafter.
<b>References</b>

<b>Name</b> GRANT, James		<b>AKA</b>
<b>Age</b> 31	<b>Trade / Calling</b> Ploughman	
<b>Offence / Sentence</b> Machine breaking. Transported for 14 years.		
<b>County</b> Essex	<b>Transport</b> Eliza	
<b>Remarks</b> Married with one child (wife Elizabeth). His family were left in the care of relatives in the village of Clacton.		
<b>Convict Conduct Record in VDL</b> Jul 20, 1832 - Neglect of duty and complaining of his provisions without a cause - 50 lashes.		
<b>Narrative of life in VDL</b> Upon arrival, Grant was assigned to the modest property of Thomas Wells in the Macquarie District. Wells was an emancipist who had once been quite wealthy, but by this time was working to make ends meet as an accountant in Launceston after surviving a near bankruptcy. Wells died in June 1833, although it would appear that Grant remained working on the property. He received his free pardon on 24 April, 1837.		
<b>Death / Final record</b> there is no record of James Grant after he received his free pardon in 1837 and it is assumed he left the colony thereafter - possibly with his relatives (see below).		
<b>References</b> Rudé, <i>Protest and Punishment</i> , p. 118, ADB.		

Name GRANT, John		AKA
Age 24	Trade / Calling Ploughman	
Offence / Sentence Machine breaking. Transported for 14 years. [Rudé, <i>Protest and Punishment</i> , p 118, incorrectly stated that his sentence was for 7 years.]		
County Essex		Transport Eliza
Remarks Married (wife Mary on the parish).		
Convict Conduct Record in VDL No convictions recorded.		
Narrative of life in VDL Upon arrival, Grant was assigned to George Stockle and appears to have remained with him until at least the date that he received his ticket of leave. He received his free pardon on 3 February 1836.		

**Death / Final record** There is no record of John Grant after he received his free pardon in 1836 and it is assumed he left the colony thereafter- possibly with, or to join, his relatives.

**References**

<b>Name</b> GRANT, Thomas		<b>AKA</b>
<b>Age</b> 29	<b>Trade / Calling</b> Ploughman	
<b>Offence / Sentence</b> Machine breaking. Transported for 14 years.		
<b>County</b> Essex	<b>Transport</b> Eliza	
<b>Remarks</b> Married with five children (wife Sarah on the parish). Previous conviction for being insolent to a magistrate (one month's gaol).		
<b>Convict Conduct Record in VDL</b> Mar 22, 1832 - Larceny (two bottles of wine) - 6 months hard labour. Jan 23, 1833 - Absconding from Road Party - 50 lashes. Dec 23, 1835 - Disobedience - Found guilty but sentence unknown.		
<b>Narrative of life in VDL</b> Upon arrival, Grant was pencilled in for assignment to David Gray of Perth, but was instead assigned to GTW Boyes, colonial auditor and diarist a month later. After the incident in which he and another convict named William MacPherson were convicted of stealing two bottles of wine, he was sent to a road party. He absconded once and was punished for disobedience on another occasion. He received his free pardon on 3 August 1837.		
<b>Death / Final record</b> There is no record of Thomas Grant after he received his free pardon in 1837 and it is assumed he left the colony thereafter.		
<b>References</b> P Chapman (ed), <i>The Diaries and Letters of GTWB Boyes</i> , pp. 498, 510, and 551, <i>ADB</i> .		

<b>Name</b>		GROVES, Richard	<b>AKA</b>	
<b>Age</b> 23		<b>Trade / Calling</b> Ploughman		
<b>Offence / Sentence</b> Machine breaking. Transported for 7 years.				
<b>County</b> Wiltshire			<b>Transport</b> Eliza	
<b>Remarks</b> Single. Previous conviction for assault.				
<b>Convict Conduct Record in VDL</b> Apr 17, 1832 - prevaricating before a bench of magistrates - reprimanded. Jul 24, 1832 - Disobedience - 25 lashes. Jul 6, 1833 - Insolence and disobedience - 12 months imprisonment Nov 10, 1834 - Indecent liberties with a free female in the service of his master - Imprisonment for 12 months.				
<b>Narrative of life in VDL</b> Upon arrival, Groves was assigned to George Nicholas of Lower Clyde and remained with him until he received a sentence of 12 months for insolence and disobedience, which he served on the Hulk Chain Gang. Within a few days of being released from the Gang and assigned to another master, Groves was in trouble again; this time for taking liberties with his new master's female servant. He was sent back to the Hulk Chain Gang for another 12 months. Although he never received a ticket of leave, Groves had finished his latter				

term of imprisonment when his free pardon became effective on 3 February 1836.

In 1839 he sailed for Port Phillip and in 1840, married Mary Moran an Irish bounty immigrant girl. The same year he was also witness to the marriage of fellow machine breaker Richard Venwell in Melbourne. By 1842 he was living in Geelong, where he established a successful brickmaking business. His brother Joseph came out to the colony from England to join him in the business. In total Richard and Mary had six children; they were a fiery couple though, and during the 1840s and 1850s, both featured on a number of occasions in the Police Notices in the *Geelong Advertiser* for being drunk and disorderly. Mary died in 1860, but Richard's death is not recorded. One of his grandsons married the granddaughter of another machine breaker, Thomas Reed.

**Death / Final record** Groves probably died some time between the mid 1850s and the early 1860s in Victoria, possibly in Geelong.

**References** BDM Records of Victoria, and information supplied by Margaret Buckland.

<b>Name</b>	HALE, James	<b>AKA</b>	
<b>Age</b> 29	<b>Trade / Calling</b> Ploughman		
<b>Offence / Sentence</b> Machine breaking (2). Transported for 7 years.			
<b>County</b> Wiltshire		<b>Transport</b> Eliza	
<b>Remarks</b> Married with three children (wife Eliza).			
<b>Convict Conduct Record in VDL</b> No convictions recorded.			
<b>Narrative of life in VDL</b> Upon arrival, Hale was assigned to Lieutenant V Griffiths JP of Tea Tree and remained with him until he received his ticket of leave in 1835. He received his free pardon on 3 February 1836 and left the colony within a couple of years.			
<b>Death / Final record</b> By 1841, Hale had returned to England and was working as an agricultural labourer again. By 1851, he was in service as a gentleman's servant.			
<b>References</b>			

<b>Name</b>	HARFORD, Samuel	<b>AKA</b>	
<b>Age</b> 22	<b>Trade / Calling</b> Ploughman		
<b>Offence / Sentence</b> Machine breaking. Transported for 7 years.			
<b>County</b> Wiltshire		<b>Transport</b> Eliza	
<b>Remarks</b> Married with one child (wife Mary Ann).			
<b>Convict Conduct Record in VDL</b> Aug 5, 1833 - Neglect and improper language - admonished. Jan 12, 1835 - Found in a public house - Reprimanded.			
<b>Narrative of life in VDL</b> Upon arrival, Harford was assigned to Thomas Bonney of Tea Tree, but within a year was working for a Mr Thompson. Harford earned himself an early ticket of leave in April 1834 for rescuing a child who had fallen into a quarry hole of water at the back of the Old Penitentiary in Hobart Town. He received his free pardon on 3 February 1836.			
<b>Death / Final record</b> There is no record of Harford after he received his free pardon in 1836 and it is assumed			

he left the colony thereafter.

**References** *Hobart Town Gazette*, April 18, 1834.

<b>Name</b> HART, John		<b>AKA</b>
<b>Age</b> 24	<b>Trade / Calling</b> Farm labourer	
<b>Offence / Sentence</b> Machine breaking. Transported for 7 years.		
<b>County</b> Essex	<b>Transport</b> Eliza	
<b>Remarks</b> Single		
<b>Convict Conduct Record in VDL</b> Oct 10, 1832 - Absent from hut without leave after hours - Reprimanded. Dec 11, 1832 - Absent from hut - 25 lashes. May 9, 1833- Neglect of duty, disobedience, and drunk - 50 lashes. Jan 28, 1835 - Found out after hours - admonished. July 4, 1835 - Neglect of duty - 50 lashes Aug 25, 1835 - Neglect of work - 25 lashes. Also – September 5 and October 4 1836, and May 25 and September 25 1837 – Drunk – fined 5/- on each occasion.		
<b>Narrative of life in VDL</b> Upon arrival, Hart was assigned to the VDL Company and remained with them until he received his free pardon on 3 February 1836. Hart was always in trouble, and accumulated 150 lashes during his time as an assigned servant and did not receive a ticket of leave before his freedom. Within four months of leaving the Company he was back again as a paid servant, and remained in its employ until January 1839, mostly on the Circular Head estate. It appears that he married Frances Cross in the colony at an unknown date. Hobsbawm and Rudé believe he ultimately became a shoemaker in Launceston, but this is unlikely.		
<b>Death / Final record</b> There is no record of Hart after he received his last pay from the VDL Company as a free servant in January 1839. It is assumed he left the colony some time thereafter, probably after his marriage.		
<b>References</b> VDL 224, Hobsbawm and Rudé, p. 277.		

<b>Name</b> HAWKINS, David		<b>AKA</b>
<b>Age</b> 40	<b>Trade / Calling</b> Ploughman, labourer.	
<b>Offence / Sentence</b> Machine breaking. Transported for life.		
<b>County</b> Berkshire		<b>Transport</b> Eliza
<b>Remarks</b> Married with three children (wife Prudence on the parish). His name had appeared often in the account books of the Hungerford Overseers of the Poor in the years preceding the riots. One previous conviction for bastardy.		
<b>Convict Conduct Record in VDL</b> Dec 10, 1833 - Insolence, disobedience - 50 lashes. Jul 22, 1834 - Assault, disorderly conduct - 50 lashes Mar 10, 1836 - Disobedience and insolence towards his master- 25 lashes.		

<b>Narrative of life in VDL</b> Upon arrival, Hawkins was assigned to a Mr Horton. This was probably Samuel Horton of Ross (the founder of Horton College). Hawkins remained with Horton until he received his free pardon on 24 April 1837.
<b>Death / Final record</b> There is no record of Hawkins after he received his free pardon in 1837 and it is assumed he left the colony thereafter.
<b>References</b>

<b>Name</b> HAYHOE, Samuel		<b>AKA</b>
<b>Age</b> 33	<b>Trade / Calling</b> Ploughman	
<b>Offence / Sentence</b> Machine breaking. Transported for 7 years.		
<b>County</b> Essex	<b>Transport</b> Eliza	
<b>Remarks</b> Married with six children (wife Jane on the parish).		
<b>Convict Conduct Record in VDL</b> Mar 20, 1834 - Representing himself to be free when found out after hours - admonished.  Feb 26, 1840- Breaking and entering, and stealing a cloth waistcoat worth 4/- and other small articles - committed for trial.		
<b>Narrative of life in VDL</b> Upon arrival, Hayhoe was assigned to Silas Gatehouse of Sorell and appears to have remained with him until he received his ticket of leave in 1835. He received his free pardon on 3 February 1836. In 1840, he was committed for trial for burglary charges but does not appear to have stood trial.		
<b>Death / Final record</b> Died at Bellerive in 1881.		
<b>References</b>		

<b>Name</b> HAYTER, William		<b>AKA</b>
<b>Age</b> 29	<b>Trade / Calling</b> Farm labourer	
<b>Offence / Sentence</b> Machine breaking. Transported for 7 years.		
<b>County</b> Wiltshire	<b>Transport</b> Eliza	
<b>Remarks</b> Married with two children (wife Elizabeth). One previous conviction for poaching.		
<b>Convict Conduct Record in VDL</b> No convictions recorded.		
<b>Narrative of life in VDL</b> Upon arrival, Hayter was assigned to the VDL Company and remained with the Company until at least 1833. For reasons that are not apparent, Hayter was then re-assigned to the Public Works and received an early ticket of leave on 29 October 1834. He died in Launceston while still under his ticket of leave and was buried on 10 June 1835.		
<b>Death / Final record</b> Died in Launceston, June 1835.		
<b>References</b>		

<b>Name</b>	HAYWARD,	<b>AKA</b>	
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John	
Age 21	Trade / Calling Ploughman
Offence / Sentence Machine breaking. Transported for 7 years.	
County Wiltshire	Transport Eliza
Remarks Single. One previous conviction for stealing a fowl.	
Convict Conduct Record in VDL Aug 11, 1834 - Negligence and disobedience - reprimanded. Oct 12, 1834 - Disorderly conduct - reprimanded.	
Narrative of life in VDL Upon arrival, Hayward was assigned to Major Wellman and appears to have principally remained with him until 1835, although he was probably loaned to a Mr O'Connor for about a year - an unhappy period in which he was convicted twice of disobedience and disorderly conduct. He did not receive a ticket of leave and received a free pardon on 3 February 1836.	
Death / Final record Hayward left the colony on the <i>Sally Anne</i> , a whaler bound for Portland Bay in 1837. He returned and in 1838 left again on the <i>Black Joke</i> . This time he did not return and settled in either Victoria or South Australia.	
References	

Name	HEATH, David	AKA
Age 24	Trade / Calling Ploughman	
Offence / Sentence Machine breaking. Transported for 7 years.		
County Wiltshire	Transport Eliza	
Remarks Married (Wife Mary on the parish).		
Convict Conduct Record in VDL No convictions recorded.		
Narrative of life in VDL Upon arrival, Heath was assigned to J Porter but by 1835 had been appointed a constable. In 1832 he had successfully applied for free passage for Mary to join him and she arrived in late 1833 or early 1834. Heath received a ticket of leave in 1835 but he was one of the forgotten machine breakers, and did not receive his free pardon until November 1837; after which he settled in the Old Beach area. Mary and David had four children.		
Death / Final record There is no record of Heath after his fourth child was born in the colony in 1847, although it is likely he remained in Van Diemen's Land.		
References		

Name	HEATH, David (2).	AKA
Age 21	Trade / Calling Ploughman	
Offence / Sentence Demanding money with menace. Transported for 7 years.		
County Wiltshire	Transport Eliza	

<b>Remarks</b> Heath claimed to be single, but he had in fact married Mary Strange in 1828.
<b>Convict Conduct Record in VDL</b> Jul 26, 1833 - Insubordination and disobedience - sentence extended by a further two years.
<b>Narrative of life in VDL</b> Upon arrival, Heath was assigned to John Gage JP of Old Beach. In 1833, he received a two year extension to his sentence for insubordination (a Mr Parker was the complainant), although this did not prevent him from receiving a ticket of leave in August 1835. For reasons that are not clear from his records, Heath did not receive a certificate of freedom until 1845.
<b>Death / Final record</b> There is no definite record of Heath in the colony after 1845 and it is assumed he departed thereafter.
<b>References</b>

<b>Name</b> HEIGHES, Thomas	<b>AKA</b> Hayes
<b>Age</b> 28	<b>Trade / Calling</b> Farm labourer
<b>Offence / Sentence</b> Machine breaking. Transported for 7 years.	
<b>County</b> Hampshire	<b>Transport</b> Eliza
<b>Remarks</b> Married with three children (wife Ann on the parish). His brother had also stood trial in respect of the same machine breaking episode, but was acquitted.	
<b>Convict Conduct Record in VDL</b> No convictions recorded.	
<b>Narrative of life in VDL</b> Upon arrival, Heighes was assigned to Solomon Austin and appears to have remained with him until he received his ticket of leave in 1835. He received his free pardon on 3 February 1836.	
<b>Death / Final record</b> Died in Hobart in 1838 of "Feaver".	
<b>References</b>	

<b>Name</b> HE(P)BURN, Thomas	<b>AKA</b> Winterbourn, Winterbottom, Hebuirn
<b>Age</b> 33	<b>Trade / Calling</b> Ploughman
<b>Offence / Sentence</b> Machine breaking. Transported for 7 years.	
<b>County</b> Kent.	<b>Transport</b> Eliza
<b>Remarks</b> Married with two children (wife Elizabeth on the parish).	
<b>Convict Conduct Record in VDL</b> No convictions recorded.	
<b>Narrative of life in VDL</b> Upon arrival, Hepburn was assigned to Edward Abbott, a former New South Wales Corps officer and Deputy Judge Advocate, in the north of the colony at Bathurst. He received his free pardon on 3 February 1836.  Although the date is not certain, Elizabeth and their two children had arrived in the colony by 1837, because the Hepburns' third child was born at New Norfolk in 1838. Two other children followed, all born in the New Norfolk area.  By 1849, the family had moved to Victoria, settling in Geelong. Hepburn went into a partnership running a	

water carrying business. Elizabeth died in 1854 and he re-married three years later.
<b>Death / Final record</b> Died in Geelong in 1879. The net value of his estate was assessed as being in excess of 800 pounds.
<b>References</b> J. Fuller, Some Ancestors and Descendants of Thomas Hebuirn and Elizabeth Emptage, MS Melbourne, 1997, <i>ADB</i>

<b>Name</b> HERRINGTON, Henry		<b>AKA</b>
<b>Age</b> 40	<b>Trade / Calling</b> Ploughman	
<b>Offence / Sentence</b> Machine breaking. Transported for 7 years.		
<b>County</b> Wiltshire		<b>Transport</b> Eliza
<b>Remarks</b> Married with two children (wife Mary keeps a small farm). Herrington was a remarkably tall man for his times, being 6'1" in height.		
<b>Convict Conduct Record in VDL</b> No convictions recorded. But after he received his freedom, he was convicted of a breach of the peace on 23 March 1838 and fined two pounds, and on 16 September 1840 was charged with perjury but discharged on November 2, 1840.		
<b>Narrative of life in VDL</b> Upon arrival, Herrington was assigned to William Lawrence of Launceston (who subsequently became a member of the Legislative Council) and remained with him until he received his ticket of leave in 1835. Lawrence was so impressed by Herrington's honesty and industry that in 1833 he wrote a letter to the Home Office recommending that his assigned servant be granted an early pardon. Herrington received a free pardon on 3 February 1836 and remained in the north of the colony. Some time after 1841 he made it back home to England.		
<b>Death / Final record</b> Herrington returned to England some time after 1841 and before 1851 and was recorded in a village census that year as a 63 year old widower, working as a dairyman.		
<b>References</b>		

<b>Name</b> HIBBERD, William		<b>AKA</b>
<b>Age</b> 44	<b>Trade / Calling</b> Ploughman	
<b>Offence / Sentence</b> Machine breaking. Transported for 7 years.		
<b>County</b> Wiltshire	<b>Transport</b> Eliza	
<b>Remarks</b> Married with six children (wife Ann).		
<b>Convict Conduct Record in VDL</b> Sept 13, 1832 – Drunk – treadwheel for 6 days. Jul 8, 1833 – Drunk – treadwheel for 4 days. Sept 17, 1833 – Trafficking in the PB – Being too infirm for assignment, he is to be removed to a Road Party where he can break stones.		
<b>Narrative of life in VDL</b> Upon arrival, Hibberd was assigned to E A Walpole but by 1833 was a wardsman. His drinking led to him losing that position in 1833 and, despite his apparent infirmity, he was set to work breaking stones on a Road Party. He received a ticket of leave in 1835 and a free pardon on 3 February 1836.		



**Death / Final record** There is no record of Hibberd after he received his free pardon in 1836. He was almost 50 years old by that time, and was apparently infirm. Although there are no further records, it is likely that he remained in the colony.

**References**

<b>Name</b> HILL, William		<b>AKA</b>
<b>Age 25</b>	<b>Trade / Calling</b> Farm labourer.	
<b>Offence / Sentence</b> Machine breaking (three charges). Transported for 7 years.		
<b>County</b> Hampshire		<b>Transport</b> Eliza
<b>Remarks</b> Married with two children (wife Elizabeth on the parish).		
<b>Convict Conduct Record in VDL</b> No convictions recorded.		
<b>Narrative of life in VDL</b> Upon arrival Hill was assigned to J.H. Wedge JP at 'Leighlands' near longford. Wedge was a former colonial assistant surveyor and would later be a member of the Legislative Council. Hill appears to have remained with Wedge until he received his ticket of leave in 1835. He received his free pardon on 3 February 1836.		
<b>Death / Final record</b> There is no confirmed record of Hill in the colony after 1836. A William Hill married a convict woman Mary Batchelor in 1840 at Longford, and it is probably the machine breaker. Hill had certainly worked previously in the Longford area during his assignment and may have still lived in the area.		
<b>References</b> ADB		

<b>Name</b> HILLIER, Arthur		<b>AKA</b>
<b>Age 22</b>	<b>Trade / Calling</b> Blacksmith	
<b>Offence / Sentence</b> Machine breaking (two charges). Transported for 7 years.		
<b>County</b> Wiltshire		<b>Transport</b> Eliza
<b>Remarks</b> Married with one child (wife Sarah). One previous conviction for trespass. Sarah had another child two years after Hillier was transported		
<b>Convict Conduct Record in VDL</b> No convictions recorded during his time as a convict. But on March 5, 1841, he was convicted in the north of the colony of a breach of an Act (possibly a breach of the peace?) and fined four pounds.		
<b>Narrative of life in VDL</b> Upon arrival, Hillier was assigned to the VDL Company. He left the Company as soon as he received his ticket of leave in 1835. He received his free pardon on 3 February 1836 and moved to the Evandale district. There is some evidence that, for a while at least, he went to live and work on a property owned by Mrs Paterson at Relbia. In 1837 he married Sarah Hance a free woman who had arrived on a bounty ship, the <i>Charles Kerr</i> . They had at least seven children. One of his daughters married a son of William		

Wadley, a fellow machine breaker.
In 1852, Hillier sailed to Melbourne on the <i>Tamar</i> . On the same vessel was Joseph Beminster, a fellow machine breaker from Wiltshire. They were probably going to the Victorian goldfields to try their luck. Hillier eventually returned to the colony and lived on a house and land in the Evandale district for the rest of his life.
<b>Death / Final record</b> Died in Northern Tasmania in 1859, and his widow remarried the same year.
<b>References</b>

<b>Name</b>	HILLIER, William	<b>AKA</b>	
<b>Age</b>	21	<b>Trade / Calling</b>	Ploughman
<b>Offence / Sentence</b> Machine breaking. Transported for 7 years.			
<b>County</b>	Wiltshire	<b>Transport</b>	Eliza
<b>Remarks</b> Single. Two previous convictions for leaving his master and tried and acquitted of arson.			
<b>Convict Conduct Record in VDL</b> June 24, 1833 - Disobedience and refusing to work after 12 o'clock. - 25 lashes.			
<b>Narrative of life in VDL</b> Upon arrival, Hillier was assigned to John Jones of Spring Hill and remained with him until 1835. He received his free pardon on 3 February 1836.			
<b>Death / Final record</b> There is no record of Hillier after he received his free pardon in 1836 and it is assumed he left the colony thereafter.			
<b>References</b>			

<b>Name</b>	HILLMAN, William	<b>AKA</b>	
<b>Age</b>	31	<b>Trade / Calling</b>	Ploughman
<b>Offence / Sentence</b> Robbery (10/6-). Transported for 7 years.			
<b>County</b>	Wiltshire.	<b>Transport</b>	Eliza
<b>Remarks</b> Married with one child (wife Hannah on the parish). Two prior convictions for assault and stealing hay.			
<b>Convict Conduct Record in VDL</b> Dec 26, 1835 - Representing himself as a free man.- admonished. After he received his freedom, Hillman was convicted of drunkenness in the Launceston Police District on 2 August 1838 and was fined 5/-.			
<b>Narrative of life in VDL</b> Upon arrival, Hillman was assigned to Andrew Gatenby (chief district constable) of 'Barton' on the Isis River and remained with him until he received his ticket of leave in 1835. He received his free pardon on 3 February 1836 and continued working in the north of the colony. Although Hillman successfully applied for his family to join him in August 1832, they did not come out to the colony. Hannah remarried in England in 1845, describing herself as a widow.			
<b>Death / Final record</b> There is no record of Hillman after his minor conviction for drunkenness in 1838, and it is			

assumed he left the colony thereafter.

**References** *ADB*

<b>Name</b>	HISCOCK(S), John	<b>AKA</b>	Hitchcock, Spencer.
<b>Age</b> 23	<b>Trade / Calling</b> Ploughman		
<b>Offence / Sentence</b> Machine breaking. Transported for 7 years.			
<b>County</b> Wiltshire		<b>Transport</b> Eliza	
<b>Remarks</b> Married with one child (wife Elizabeth).			
<p><b>Convict Conduct Record in VDL</b> Aug 25, 1831 - Absconding - 3 months imprisonment and hard labour.          Jan 24, 1834 - Insubordination - reprimanded.          Apr 24, 1834 - Absconding - sentence extended by two years.          Oct 2, 1838 - Drunk and Disorderly conduct - fined 5/-.          Oct 10, 1840 - Riding on his cart within town limits- fined 5/-          Jan 24, 1843 - Failing to assist Constable Potter in the execution of his duty - Fined two pounds.</p>			
<p><b>Narrative of life in VDL</b> Upon arrival, Hiscock was assigned to J.M. Stephenson of Mowbray. He absconded within a matter of weeks of reaching the farm, but was caught and returned. A second attempt to abscond three years later earned him a two year extension to his sentence. He remained assigned to Stephenson until at least 1835 and did not receive a ticket of leave before he received his pardon in April 1838. He remained working in the north of the colony, his conviction in 1840 suggesting he was working on a farm or for a carrier.</p>			
<b>Death / Final record</b> There is no record of Hiscock after his conviction in 1843, and it is assumed he left the colony thereafter.			
<b>References</b>			

<b>Name</b>	HOLLAND(S), George	<b>AKA</b>	
<b>Age</b> 28	<b>Trade / Calling</b> Shoemaker		
<b>Offence / Sentence</b> Machine breaking. Transported for 7 years.			
<b>County</b> Kent		<b>Transport</b> Eliza	
<b>Remarks</b> Single			
<b>Convict Conduct Record in VDL</b> No convictions recorded.			
<p><b>Narrative of life in VDL</b> Upon arrival, Hollands was assigned to a Mr Sutherland. It is possible that this was the Isis River pastoralist James Sutherland, but it is more likely to be a settler in one of the towns, because of Holland's calling as a shoemaker. He appears to have remained with Sutherland until he received his ticket of leave in 1835. He received his free pardon on 3 February 1836.</p>			
<b>Death / Final record</b> There is no record of Hollands after he received his free pardon in 1836 and it is assumed he left the colony thereafter.			
<b>References</b>			

<b>Name</b>	HOLMES, William	<b>AKA</b>	
<b>Age</b>	27	<b>Trade / Calling</b>	Ploughman
<b>Offence / Sentence</b> Rioting, machine breaking. Transported for 7 years.			
<b>County</b>	Wiltshire	<b>Transport</b>	Eliza
<b>Remarks</b> Single. One previous conviction for assault.			
<b>Convict Conduct Record in VDL</b> Nov 7, 1831 - Insolence and disobedience - 14 days on treadwheel. Oct 8, 1832 - Repeated disobedience, neglect, gross indolence, threatening to "do for him" (George Wilson), - 3 months imprisonment Jan 19, 1833 - Keeping Mr Wilson in a constant state of fear - charge not proved, but prisoner sent to Constitution Hill Road Party. Jul 26, 1833 - Suspicion of felony - discharged.			
<b>Narrative of life in VDL</b> Upon arrival, Holmes was assigned to the property of Dr Thomas Wilson in the Brisbane parish (Macquarie River). Dr Wilson spent most of his time on his holding in New South Wales by this time and the property in Van Diemen's Land was managed by his brother, George Wilson. Holmes must have been an unruly servant, and he appears to have left George Wilson in genuine fear for his own safety. Within a couple of days of Holmes being returned to Wilson after 3 months imprisonment for various offences, he was before the magistrate again for putting Wilson in fear of his personal safety. He was soon sent to a road party but was re-assigned to William Rumney of Clarence Plains in 1835. His generally bad behaviour prevented him from receiving a ticket of leave and he was still assigned when he received his free pardon on 25 May 1837.			
<b>Death / Final record</b> There is no confirmed record of Holmes after he received his free pardon in 1837. A William Holmes sailed for Port Phillip in 1837. Another William Holmes lived at Richmond in the colony as late as 1851.			
<b>References</b>			

<b>Name</b>	HOLT, William.	<b>AKA</b>	
<b>Age</b>	20	<b>Trade / Calling</b>	Bricklayer
<b>Offence / Sentence</b> Machine breaking. Transported for 7 years.			
<b>County</b>	Wiltshire	<b>Transport</b>	Eliza
<b>Remarks</b> Single			
<b>Convict Conduct Record in VDL</b> Mar 23, 1832 - Drunk - reprimanded. Dec 4 1833 - Insolence - reprimanded. Dec 26, 1833 - Drunk - 25 lashes Mar 25, 1834 - Absent without permission - 25 lashes Jul 8, 1835 - Neglect of work - one months imprisonment and hard labour.			

<b>Narrative of life in VDL</b> Upon arrival Holt was assigned to the Public Works and worked in the Loan Gang. He was a rebellious convict, however, and appeared before the magistrate five times. On the first two occasions he was merely reprimanded, but after he got drunk on Christmas Day 1833, he was flogged. In 1835 he also spent some time on a road gang. His general bad behaviour prevented him from receiving a ticket of leave and he was still in the Public Works when he received his free pardon on 3 February 1836.
<b>Death / Final record</b> There is no record of Holt after he received his free pardon in 1836 and it is assumed he left the colony thereafter.
<b>References</b>

<b>Name</b> HOPGOOD, John		<b>AKA</b>
<b>Age</b> 30	<b>Trade / Calling</b> Ploughman	
<b>Offence / Sentence</b> Machine breaking. Transported for 7 years.		
<b>County</b> Hampshire		<b>Transport</b> Eliza
<b>Remarks</b> Married with two children (wife Sarah). Hopgood's brother George was also convicted of machine breaking and was transported to NSW on the <i>Eleanor</i> . Both men had wives in England but re-married in the colonies.		
<b>Convict Conduct Record in VDL</b> Mar 25, 1833 - Disobedience - reprimanded Nov 26, 1833 - Neglect of duty - reprimanded.		
<b>Narrative of life in VDL</b> Upon arrival, Hopgood was assigned to Philip Russell of Black Marsh, where Russell's half brother George worked as manager. He continued to work on the property after he received his ticket of leave in 1835 and his freedom on 3 February 1836. In October of that year, he accompanied George Russell, who had been appointed manager of the Clyde Company, to Port Phillip to help establish the Company's property in the new colony, near Geelong. On May 29 1837 he was dismissed and the wages owed to him were forfeited for "misconduct". Hopgood remained in the colony and in 1841 he married 17 year old Irish immigrant girl Ann Duggan in Melbourne. Eventually, they had six children. They moved to Bacchus Marsh and, later, Coimadai where John was the first settler in the area. There, he established a lime kiln with his sons, who continued to work it after his death.		
<b>Death / Final record</b> Died in Melbourne in 1880.		
<b>References</b> <i>Clyde Company Papers Vol II</i> , London 1952, <i>The Narrative of George Russell</i> , 1936, pp 118 - 119, and information supplied by Tina Russell.		

Name		HOTSON, John	AKA	Hudson
Age 33		Trade / Calling Ploughman		
Offence / Sentence Machine breaking. Transported for 7 years.				
County Hampshire			Transport Eliza	
Remarks Married with four children (wife Ann on the parish).				
Convict Conduct Record in VDL No convictions recorded.				

<b>Narrative of life in VDL</b> Upon arrival, Hotson was assigned to Thomas Anstey JP at 'Anstey Park' near Otlands. He was still assigned to Anstey, who was a friend of Arthur's, when he died the following year.
<b>Death / Final record</b> Died on 4 December 1832
<b>References:</b> ADB

<b>Name</b> HOUGHTON, Peter		<b>AKA</b>
<b>Age</b> 34	<b>Trade / Calling</b> Tythingman (hoopmaker).	
<b>Offence / Sentence</b> Machine breaking. Transported for 7 years.		
<b>County</b> Hampshire	<b>Transport</b> Eliza	
<b>Remarks</b> Married with five children (wife Sarah on the parish). Houghton's fifth child was born one week before he landed in Hobart. His brother James had also been charged with machine breaking, but had been acquitted.		
<b>Convict Conduct Record in VDL</b> No convictions recorded.		
<b>Narrative of life in VDL</b> Upon arrival, Houghton was already very ill with consumption and he died within a matter of two weeks.		
<b>Death / Final record</b> Died in Hobart on 14 July 1831.		
<b>References</b>		

<b>Name</b> HOUSE, James		<b>AKA</b>
<b>Age</b> 24	<b>Trade / Calling</b> Ploughman	
<b>Offence / Sentence</b> Machine breaking. Transported for 7 years		
<b>County</b> Wiltshire		<b>Transport</b> Eliza
<b>Remarks</b> Married with two children (wife Louisa). His second child was born in May 1831. Three prior convictions for poaching and one for trespass.		
<b>Convict Conduct Record in VDL</b> No convictions recorded.		
<b>Narrative of life in VDL</b> Upon arrival, House was assigned to P. Harrison of Jericho and remained with him until he received his ticket of leave in 1835. He received his free pardon on 3 February 1836. House successfully applied for assisted passage for his family to join him but it is unlikely they came out, because he married Harriet Thorney in the colony in 1843.		
<b>Death / Final record</b> Died in Van Diemen's Land in 1850.		
<b>References</b>		

Name		HULKES, Henry	AKA	Hulches
Age 23		Trade / Calling Ploughman		
Offence / Sentence Machine breaking. Transported for 7 years.				

County Kent.	Transport Eliza
<b>Remarks Single.</b> Prior conviction for assault.	
<b>Convict Conduct Record in VDL</b> Aug 8, 1831 - Drunkenness - reprimanded. July 1, 1833 - Disobedience and insolence - reprimanded. Oct 31, 1833 - Making use of an insolent expression to Mr Jellicoe in the presence of the Police Superintendent at his office - treadwheel for 14 days. Mar 15, 1834 - Drunk - 3 days b&w.	
<b>Narrative of life in VDL</b> Upon arrival, Hulkes was assigned to N Wilson of Hollow Tree and remained with him until 1834, when it was likely he was assigned to Henry Jellicoe of Campbell Town. He received his free pardon on 3 February 1836.	
<b>Death / Final record</b> There is no record of Hulkes after he received his free pardon in 1836 and it is assumed he left the colony thereafter.	
<b>References</b>	

<b>Name</b> HUNT, John		<b>AKA</b>
<b>Age</b> 21	<b>Trade / Calling</b> Ploughman, labourer	
<b>Offence / Sentence</b> Machine breaking. Transported for 7 years.		
<b>County</b> Gloucestershire (although he was born in Berkshire).		<b>Transport</b> Eliza
<b>Remarks</b> Single.		
<b>Convict Conduct Record in VDL</b> No convictions recorded while a convict, but after he received his freedom he was convicted in the north of the colony on May 2 1836 with drunkenness and fined 5/-, and suffered a similar offence and fine in 1837.		
<b>Narrative of life in VDL</b> Upon arrival, Hunt was assigned to the VDL Company. He remained assigned to the Company until he received his (belated) ticket of leave in late 1835 and thereafter he remained with the Company as a paid servant for a further two months until February 1836, working at both the Hampshire Hills and Woolnorth. He received his free pardon on 3 February 1836 and continued to work in the north of the colony. In February 1840, he married Louisa Wallace in Launceston.		
<b>Death / Final record</b> There is no record of Hunt after his marriage in 1840. It is likely they left the colony thereafter.		
<b>References</b> VDL 225		

<b>Name</b> HUNT, Joseph.		<b>AKA</b>
<b>Age</b> 21	<b>Trade / Calling</b> Ploughman	
<b>Offence / Sentence</b> Machine breaking. Transported for 7 years.		
<b>County</b> Wiltshire		<b>Transport</b> Eliza

<b>Remarks Single</b>
<b>Convict Conduct Record in VDL</b> No convictions recorded.
<b>Narrative of life in VDL</b> Upon arrival, Hunt was assigned to the VDL Company. He stayed with the Company after he received his ticket of leave in July 1835 and his free pardon on 3 February 1836. He remained with the Company as a paid servant, first at Circular Head and then at Woolnorth until December 1838. In January 1839, his final pay was debited 6/- to pay for his passage to Launceston on the <i>Edward</i> .
<b>Death / Final record</b> There is no record of Hunt after he left the Company in 1839 and it is assumed he left the colony thereafter on a vessel sailing out of Launceston.
<b>References</b> VDL 225

<b>Name</b> HUTCHINSON, Barnabas		<b>AKA</b>
<b>Age</b> 22	<b>Trade / Calling</b> Gardener	
<b>Offence / Sentence</b> Burning a threshing machine. Transported for 7 years.		
<b>County</b> Wiltshire	<b>Transport</b> Eliza	
<b>Remarks</b> Single		
<b>Convict Conduct Record in VDL</b> Nov 20, 1834 - Drunk and fighting - Severely admonished.		
<b>Narrative of life in VDL</b> Upon arrival, Hutchinson was assigned to Thomas Archer JP and Legislative Councillor of Norfolk Plains and remained with Archer until he received his ticket of leave in June 1835. He received his free pardon on 3 February 1836.		
<b>Death / Final record</b> Hutchinson left Van Diemen's Land for Melbourne on the <i>Vixen</i> on 31 January 1852.		
<b>References</b> ADB		

<b>Name</b> INGRAM, John		<b>AKA</b>
<b>Age</b> 24	<b>Trade / Calling</b> Ploughman	
<b>Offence / Sentence</b> Machine breaking. Transported for 7 years.		
<b>County</b> Essex		<b>Transport</b> Eliza
<b>Remarks</b> Single. Had already spent 3 years and 3 months of a 7 year sentence in prison for stealing a watch.		
<b>Convict Conduct Record in VDL</b> Ingram accumulated a long list of convictions. His thirteen appearances before the magistrates for multiple charges included absconding, being absent without leave, insubordination, disobedience and neglect of duty. His sentence was extended once and he was sentenced to periods of imprisonment four times, as well as being flogged five times. His last offence, for drunkenness and disorderliness, was committed in 1858.		
<b>Narrative of life in VDL</b> Upon arrival, Ingram was assigned to Lewis Gillies on the Macquarie River. After a long list of offences, leading to intervals on the Launceston Chain Gang, Ingram was re-assigned to the Public		



Works in October 1836. In 1837 John Archer, his new master, wrote to Franklin that Ingram had given him more trouble than any other convict he had ever had. He was still a convict in 1838.

**Death / Final record** Although there is no record of Ingram after his last offence in 1858, the likelihood is that he would have remained in the colony, because he would have been in his early 50's by then.

**References** Rudé, *Protest and Punishment*, p. 247, and CSO 5/89/1906.

<b>Name</b> JACOBS, John		<b>AKA</b>
<b>Age 27</b>	<b>Trade / Calling</b> Ploughman	
<b>Offence / Sentence</b> Machine breaking. Transported for 7 years.		
<b>County</b> Oxfordshire		<b>Transport</b> Eliza
<b>Remarks</b> Single		
<b>Convict Conduct Record in VDL</b> No convictions recorded.		
<b>Narrative of life in VDL</b> Upon arrival, Jacobs was assigned to either Jocelyn Thomas of Evandale or (more likely) John Thomas of Black Brush. It would appear that he remained with Thomas until he received his ticket of leave in 1835. He received his free pardon on 3 February 1836.		
<b>Death / Final record</b> There is no record of Jacobs after he received his free pardon in 1836 and it is assumed he left the colony thereafter.		
<b>References</b>		

<b>Name</b> JEFFERIES, William		<b>AKA</b>
<b>Age 23</b>	<b>Trade / Calling</b> Ploughman, baker also.	
<b>Offence / Sentence</b> Machine breaking. Transported for 7 years.		
<b>County</b> Gloucestershire		<b>Transport</b> Eliza
<b>Remarks</b> Single		
<b>Convict Conduct Record in VDL</b> No convictions recorded while he was a convict, but after receiving his freedom he was charged on February 28, 1837 with disorderly conduct but discharged.		
<b>Narrative of life in VDL</b> Upon arrival, Jefferies was assigned to the VDL Company. He received his ticket of leave in 1835 and a free pardon on 3 February 1836. After receiving his ticket, Jefferies remained with the Company as a paid servant until the end of 1837- firstly at Hampshire Hills and later at Circular Head.		
<b>Death / Final record</b> There is no record of Jefferies after he left the Company at the end of 1837 and it is assumed he departed the colony thereafter.		
<b>References</b> VDL 225.		

<b>Name</b> JEFFRIES, William		<b>AKA</b>
<b>Age 45</b>	<b>Trade / Calling</b> Blacksmith	
<b>Offence / Sentence</b> Machine breaking. Transported for 7 years.		

County Essex	Transport Eliza
<b>Remarks</b> Married with three children (wife Elizabeth on the parish).	
<b>Convict Conduct Record in VDL</b> July 16, 1833 - Insubordination and highly insolent conduct - 6 months imprisonment Jan 24, 1834 - Gross insolence- 4 hours in stocks and 4 days solitary confinement Mar 7, 1834 - Neglect of duty and feigning sickness - 6 months imprisonment Aug 12, 1835 - Repeated idleness and determined uselessness - Returned to Public Works.	
<b>Narrative of life in VDL</b> Upon arrival, Jeffries was assigned to Richard Willis at Epping. Willis was a prominent landowner and Legislative Councillor and at this time had 35 convicts assigned to his various properties. Jeffries was determined to be a difficult convict, and was twice sent to the Road Party for 6 months for insubordination and other offences. His best effort was to return to Willis from the Road Party in January 1834 after a 6 month sentence for insubordination and being highly insolent - and within another week be in the stocks for gross insolence towards Willis. He was not recommended for a ticket of leave and in August 1835 was returned to the Public Works with an order that he not be re-assigned until he had been favourably reported upon. Apparently this did not happen and he was still in the Public Works Department when his free pardon was granted on 14 February 1836.	
<b>Death / Final record</b> There is no record of Jeffries after he received his free pardon in 1836, and it is assumed he left the colony thereafter.	
<b>References</b> ADB	

Name JENMAN, George		AKA
Age 20	Trade / Calling Farm labourer	
Offence / Sentence Machine breaking. Transported for 7 years.		
County Hampshire		Transport Eliza
Remarks Single. Previous conviction for poaching.		
Convict Conduct Record in VDL No convictions recorded.		
Narrative of life in VDL Upon arrival, Jenman was assigned to the VDL Company. He was already suffering from consumption when he left the <i>Eliza</i> , however, and died within a few months. He was the second machine breaker to die of consumption on the Company estates.		
Death / Final record Died in September 1831.		
References		

Name		JENMAN, William	AKA
Age 21		Trade / Calling Farm labourer	
Offence / Sentence Machine breaking. Transported for 7 years.			
County Hampshire		Transport Eliza	

<b>Remarks</b> Married with one child.
<b>Convict Conduct Record in VDL</b> No convictions recorded.
<b>Narrative of life in VDL</b> Upon arrival, Jenman was assigned to the 2200 pastoral lease of William Sharland, surveyor and explorer, and later a colonial politician, of New Norfolk and remained with him until he received his ticket of leave in 1835. He received a free pardon on 3 February 1836.
<b>Death / Final record</b> There is no record of Jenman after he received his free pardon in 1836 and it is assumed he left the colony thereafter.
<b>References</b>

Name		KETTLE, Elias.	AKA	
Age 19		Trade / Calling Ploughman		
Offence / Sentence Machine breaking. Transported for 7 years.				
County Wiltshire			Transport Eliza	
Remarks Single. Previous convictions for shooting a deer and stealing a hive of bees.				
Convict Conduct Record in VDL No convictions recorded.				
<p>Narrative of life in VDL Upon arrival, Kettle was assigned to Edward Lord, a former lieutenant in the Royal Marines and commandant of Van Diemen's Land who held properties at Ouse and Pittwater. By this time, Lord, who did not have a good relationship with Arthur, was only an infrequent visitor to the colony and he had managers on his properties. In October 1833, Kettle was appointed a constable and retained that position until he received a ticket of leave in 1835. He received a free pardon on 3 February 1836.</p> <p>Kettle then went to work for the Roadnight Brothers, two of the pioneer settlers of Port Philip. He made two trips to the new colony on the <i>Vansittart</i> and the <i>Enterprise</i>, both of which carried sheep for the brothers. He then remained in the colony and married Louisa Nower in Melbourne in 1842. Subsequently, the couple moved to NSW.</p>				
Death / Final record Died in NSW in 1867.				
References ADB				

<b>Name</b>		KIBBLEWHITE, William	<b>AKA</b>
<b>Age</b> 22		<b>Trade / Calling</b> Ploughman	
<b>Offence / Sentence</b> Machine breaking. Transported for 7 years.			
<b>County</b> Wiltshire		<b>Transport</b> Eliza	
<b>Remarks</b> Single.			
<b>Convict Conduct Record in VDL</b> No convictions recorded.			
<b>Narrative of life in VDL</b> Upon arrival, Kibblewhite was assigned to Silas Gatehouse of Sorell and he appears to have remained with him until he received his ticket of leave in June 1835. He received a free pardon on 3			

February 1836 and on 18 July that year married Mary Bowen at Sorell.
<b>Death / Final record</b> There is no record of Kibblewhite in the colony after his marriage in July 1836, and it is assumed he left the colony thereafter
<b>References</b>

<b>Name</b> KIMMER, James		<b>AKA</b> Kimber
<b>Age</b> 19	<b>Trade / Calling</b> Ploughman	
<b>Offence / Sentence</b> Machine breaking. Transported for 7 years.		
<b>County</b> Wiltshire	<b>Transport</b> Elza	
<b>Remarks</b> Single		
<b>Convict Conduct Record in VDL</b> May 26, 1834 - Insolence - reprimanded. May 15, 1835 - being found with the female convict servant of Edward Curr after dark - 12 days solitary confinement.		
<b>Narrative of life in VDL</b> Upon arrival, Kimmer was assigned to the VDL Company. His indiscretion of being caught with Curr's female convict servant probably ruined any chance of receiving a ticket of leave, and he was still assigned to the Company when he received his free pardon on 3 February 1836. Some time between then and 1839, Kimmer left the colony for Port Phillip. In Port Phillip, Kimmer married Rosina (Rosanna) Kenny and they had six children, the first in 1839 and the last in 1855. Most of the children were recorded as having been baptised in Richmond, so it is likely they had settled in that area.		
<b>Death / Final record</b> Kimmer probably died in Victoria, although there is no definite record of this.		
<b>References</b>		

<b>Name</b> LANE, Charles		<b>AKA</b>
<b>Age 19</b>	<b>Trade / Calling</b> Shepherd	
<b>Offence / Sentence</b> Machine breaking (two charges). Transported for 7 years.		
<b>County</b> Wiltshire		<b>Transport</b> Eliza
<b>Remarks</b> Single		
<b>Convict Conduct Record in VDL</b> No convictions recorded.		
<b>Narrative of life in VDL</b> Upon arrival, Lane was assigned to Lieutenant Foote but by 1832 had been re-assigned to Thomas Carter/Parker, with whom he remained until he received a ticket of leave in 1835. He received a free pardon on 3 February 1836.		
<b>Death / Final record</b> There is no record of Lane after he received his free pardon in 1836 and it is assumed he left the colony thereafter.		
<b>References</b>		

Name LANE, James		AKA
Age 36	Trade / Calling Ploughman	
Offence / Sentence Machine breaking (2) and destroying furniture. Transported for 14 years.		
County Wiltshire		Transport Eliza
Remarks Married with six children (wife Jane on the parish). Previous conviction for trespass.		
Convict Conduct Record in VDL Sept 29, 1834 - found drinking at a public house - reprimanded. Oct 27, 1834 - Out after hours with a female servant (both being drunk)- to sleep in barracks for 6 months. Jan 16, 1837 - Neglecting to attend muster - admonished.		
Narrative of life in VDL Upon arrival, Lane was assigned to Mr Allenby of Pittwater, and in 1833 was appointed an overseer in the Public Works. He received a ticket of leave in August 1835 and a free pardon on 24 April 1837.		
Death / Final record There is no record of Lane after he received his free pardon in 1837 and it is assumed he left the colony thereafter.		
References		

Name LIDDIARD, Joseph		AKA
Age 24	Trade / Calling Blacksmith, farrier	
Offence / Sentence Machine breaking, demanding money with menace. Transported for 7 years.		
County Wiltshire		Transport Eliza
Remarks Married with one child (wife Mary).		
Convict Conduct Record in VDL No convictions recorded.		
Narrative of life in VDL Upon arrival, Liddiard was assigned to Samuel Bryan of Nile and appears to have remained with him until he received his ticket of leave in 1835. He received a free pardon on 3 February 1836. In February 1834, Liddiard had successfully applied for free passage Mary and his son to join him in the colony, but it is unknown whether they came out.		
Death / Final record There is no record of Liddiard after he received his free pardon in 1836 and it is assumed he left the colony thereafter.		
References		

Name LIGHT, Thomas		AKA
Age 48	Trade / Calling Ploughman	
Offence / Sentence Machine breaking, extorting money with threats. Transported for 7 years.		
County Wiltshire		Transport Eliza
Remarks Married with four children. (wife Martha keeps a school at West Grimstead).		

<b>Convict Conduct Record in VDL</b> No convictions recorded.
<b>Narrative of life in VDL</b> Upon arrival, Light was assigned to R W Lawrence, but by the following year had been re-assigned to Roland Loane of Sorell. In March 1832, Light successfully applied for his family to join him but they did not come out. He received his ticket of leave in 1835 and a free pardon on 3 February 1836. Two years later he left the colony for England.
<b>Death / Final record</b> Thomas Light left the colony in 1838. He returned to his home village in England and, in a census in 1851, was described as a farmer of seven acres.
<b>References</b>

<b>Name</b> LOOKER, Edward		<b>AKA</b>
<b>Age</b> 19	<b>Trade / Calling</b> Farm labourer	
<b>Offence / Sentence</b> Sending a threatening letter. Transported for 7 years.		
<b>County</b> Wiltshire		<b>Transport</b> Eliza
<b>Remarks</b> Single. The Looker family had previously lived in a village in Berkshire, where Edward had been born.		
<b>Convict Conduct Record in VDL</b> Aug 15, 1834 - Neglect of duty and disrespect - 4 nights in a cell. Feb 16, 1835 -Disturbing the family at a late hour - reprimanded. Mar 11, 1835 - Drunk and neglect of duty - 50 lashes.		
<b>Narrative of life in VDL</b> Upon arrival, Looker was assigned to William Roadnight and remained with him, probably until he received his free pardon on 3 February 1836. He does not appear to have received a ticket of leave beforehand. After receiving his freedom, Looker remained in the colony, but did not rise above the station of labourer.		
<b>Death / Final record</b> An Edward Looker of his approximate age died of anasarca ( a form of dropsy) in the General Hospital, Hobart Town on 18 September, 1858. His occupation was recorded as labourer.		
<b>References</b> Information supplied by Paul Vivash.		

<b>Name</b> MANN, Worthy		<b>AKA</b>
<b>Age</b> 23	<b>Trade / Calling</b> Stonemason	
<b>Offence / Sentence</b> Machine breaking (threshing machine and hay making machine). Transported for 7 years.		
<b>County</b> Gloucestershire.		<b>Transport</b> Eliza
<b>Remarks</b> Married with two children (wife Eliza on the parish). Previous conviction for leaving his master.		
<b>Convict Conduct Record in VDL</b> Nov 8, 1831 - Drunk - 24 hours solitary. Mar 6, 1833 - Appearing drunk before Principal Superintendent of Convicts - 24 lashes Aug 24, 1834 - Absent without leave - Returned to PW.		

Mar 28, 1834 - Out after hours - Reprimanded
May 4, 1835 - Disorderly conduct - Reprimanded.
<b>Narrative of life in VDL</b> Upon arrival, Mann was assigned to the Public Works. By 1834, he had been assigned to Captain William De Gillern at Richmond, but misbehaviour led to him being returned to the Public Works. He received a free pardon on 3 February 1836.
<b>Death / Final record</b> There is no record of Mann after he received his free pardon in 1836 and it is assumed he left the colony thereafter.
<b>References</b>

Name MARSH, William		AKA
Age 25	Trade / Calling Ploughman	
Offence / Sentence Machine breaking (two charges). Transported for 7 years.		
County Wiltshire		Transport Eliza
Remarks Married with two children (wife Martha).		
Convict Conduct Record in VDL No convictions recorded.		
Narrative of life in VDL Upon arrival, Marsh was assigned to the VDL Company and remained with the Company until he received his ticket of leave in June 1835. He then left the Company and, on May 30, 1836, sailed from the colony on board the <i>Norval</i> , bound for England. Fellow machine breaker Thomas Goddard was on the same vessel.		
Death / Final record Marsh returned to England and in a census in 1851 was still recorded as an agricultural labourer.		
References		

<b>Name</b> MATTHEWS, Richard.		<b>AKA</b>
<b>Age</b> 21	<b>Trade / Calling</b> Ploughman.	
<b>Offence / Sentence</b> Obtaining money by menace (two sovereigns). Transported for 7 years.		
<b>County</b> Wiltshire	<b>Transport</b> Eliza	
<b>Remarks</b> Single. Two previous convictions for poaching.		
<b>Convict Conduct Record in VDL</b> Apr 21, 1832 - Refusing to work and being absent without permission - admonished. Date unclear - Neglect of duty - reprimanded. Oct 24, 1835 - Drunk, representing himself to be a free man, and refusing to tell a magistrate his name - prison for 4 days on b&w.		
<b>Narrative of life in VDL</b> Upon arrival, Matthews was assigned to W. B. Miller of Macquarie River. By 1832, he had been re-assigned to John Boradale Wilson. He received his ticket of leave in August 1835 and a free pardon on 3 February 1836.		

In 1837, Matthews sailed to Port Henry (Geelong) on the *Gem*. In 1842 he married Margaret Murray, an Irish immigrant girl. They had 11 children, the first two of whom were born in Iron Bark Forest and the rest in Geelong. At first, Matthews farmed sections of land near Geelong but the family moved to the Winchelsea/Modewarre area in the late 1870s and settled at Ellimente in Colac. A sister and a cousin came out to the colony, married, and farmed in the same area.

**Death / Final record** Died at Colac in Victoria in 1894.

**References**

<b>Name</b>	MILLARD, Levi	<b>AKA</b>
<b>Age</b> 26	<b>Trade / Calling</b> Blacksmith	
<b>Offence / Sentence</b> Machine breaking. Transported for 7 years.		
<b>County</b> Wiltshire	<b>Transport</b> Eliza	
<b>Remarks</b> Single		
<b>Convict Conduct Record in VDL</b> No offences recorded.		
<b>Narrative of life in VDL</b> Upon arrival, Millard was assigned to T C Simpson of the Macquarie area and he remained with Simpson until at least 1835, when he received his ticket of leave. He received his free pardon on 3 February 1836.		
<b>Death / Final record</b> It is possible that Millard remained in the colony as late as the 1843 census.		
<b>References</b>		

<b>Name</b>	MITCHELL, John	<b>AKA</b>
<b>Age</b> 25	<b>Trade / Calling</b> Ploughman	
<b>Offence / Sentence</b> Machine breaking. Transported for 7 years.		
<b>County</b> Gloucestershire	<b>Transport</b> Eliza	
<b>Remarks</b> Single.		
<b>Convict Conduct Record in VDL</b> No convictions recorded.		
<b>Narrative of life in VDL</b> Upon arrival, Mitchell was assigned to the VDL Company and remained with the Company. There is no record of him having received a ticket of leave before he received his free pardon on 3 February 1836.		
<b>Death / Final record</b> There is no firm record of Mitchell in the colony after he received his free pardon in 1836. It is possible that he stayed in the colony until at least December 1837, but the date on his Conduct Record is probably incorrect.		
<b>References</b>		

<b>Name</b>	MOON, John	<b>AKA</b>
<b>Age</b> 26	<b>Trade / Calling</b> Ploughman	



<b>Offence / Sentence</b> Machine breaking. Transported for 7 years.	
<b>County</b> Wiltshire	<b>Transport</b> Eliza
<b>Remarks</b> Married with 2 children (wife Sarah). A third child, a daughter, was born to Sarah less than two weeks after the <i>Eliza</i> sailed although she lived less than a year. One previous conviction for stealing peas. His half-brother Stephen was on the same transport vessel. His wife Sarah had at least four more children after Moon was transported, the first being born in May 1833.	
<b>Convict Conduct Record in VDL</b> Nov 29, 1832 - Disobedience of orders - Discharged.	
<b>Narrative of life in VDL</b> Upon arrival Moon was assigned to Peter Murdoch, a significant land holder, former soldier and government official of Oatlands and, later, Broadmarsh. Moon appears to have remained with Murdoch until he received his ticket of leave on 1 June 1835. He received his free pardon on 3 February 1836.	
<b>Death / Final record</b> There is no record of Moon after he received his free pardon in 1836 and it is assumed he left the colony some time thereafter.	
<b>References</b> ADB	

Name		MOON, Stephen	AKA
Age 30		Trade / Calling Ploughman	
Offence / Sentence Machine breaking. Transported for 7 years.			
County Wiltshire		Transport Eliza	
Remarks Married with 3 children (wife also Sarah). His surviving third child was born two weeks before the <i>Eliza</i> sailed and his wife Sarah died in August 1832. The fate of their children is unknown. One previous conviction for trespass.			
Convict Conduct Record in VDL No convictions recorded.			
Narrative of life in VDL Upon arrival, Moon was assigned to Mr Tolmey of Lucaston but died within a matter of days of reaching his property.			
Death / Final record Moon died on 19 June 1831 and was buried at Jerusalem.			
References			

Name		MOORE, George	AKA
Age 22		Trade / Calling Brickmaker	
Offence / Sentence Machine breaking. Transported for 7 years.			
County Kent		Transport Eliza	
Remarks Single.			
Convict Conduct Record in VDL Aug 18, 1831 - Absent from work without leave – Admonished July 5, 1836 – Drunkenness – Fined 5/-.			
Narrative of life in VDL Upon arrival, Moore was assigned to the Public Works Department and remained with			

the Department until he received his ticket of leave in 1835. He received his free pardon on 3 February 1836 and, for the next 6 months at least, worked in the north of the colony.

**Death / Final record** There is no record of Moore after his minor conviction for drunkenness in Launceston in July 1836 and it is assumed he left the colony at some date thereafter.

#### References

<b>Name</b>	MOREY, Samuel (the Younger)	<b>AKA</b>	
<b>Age</b>	19	<b>Trade / Calling</b>	Bricklayer
<b>Offence / Sentence</b> Machine breaking. Transported for 7 years.			
<b>County</b>	Hampshire	<b>Transport</b>	Eliza
<b>Remarks</b> Single			
<b>Convict Conduct Record in VDL</b> Sept 20, 1833 - Insolence - Reprimanded. Nov 11, 1834 - Absent from muster and Church - Reprimanded.			
<b>Narrative of life in VDL</b> Upon arrival Morey was assigned to the Public Works Loan Gang and he remained on loan to various settlers – probably working at his trade of bricklaying - until he received his ticket of leave in August 1835. He then went to Hobart and worked in the town until he received his free pardon on 3 February 1836. Three months later, at New Town, he married Catherine Travers, the daughter of an Irish free settler bricklayer. They continued to live in Hobart and had two children; in all likelihood, he worked at his trade with his father in law. In late 1839 or 1840, the Moreys moved to Melbourne. Morey became a successful builder and property owner in the St Kilda area. In 1858, he built and ran the Inkerman Hotel in St Kilda, before selling it to his brother in law after apparently getting into financial difficulties. Although continuing to build houses and own several properties, his fortunes never reached the same heights after his foray into the public house arena. In total, the Moreys had thirteen children.			
<b>Death / Final record</b> Morey died of influenza in South Yarra, Melbourne, on 23 August 1896.			
<b>References</b> Jennifer Carter, The English Moreys, MS Melbourne, pp 30-33.			

<b>Name</b>	MORGAN, Abraham	<b>AKA</b>	
<b>Age</b>	28	<b>Trade / Calling</b>	Ploughman
<b>Offence / Sentence</b> Machine breaking. Transported for 7 years.			
<b>County</b>	Wiltshire	<b>Transport</b>	Eliza
<b>Remarks</b> Married with three children (wife Sophia).			
<b>Convict Conduct Record in VDL</b> Oct 3, 1832 - Stealing - Imprisoned with hard labour for three years.			
<b>Narrative of life in VDL</b> Upon arrival, Morgan was assigned to Mr Vivash of Macquarie River. In 1832, however, he was convicted of a felony (probably stealing) and sentenced to three years at hard labour. When he finished his sentence in October 1835 he was assigned to W Cook and remained with him until he received his free pardon on 3 February 1836.			
<b>Death / Final record</b> There is no record of Morgan after he received his free pardon in 1836 and it is assumed he			

left the colony some time thereafter.
References

Name	MOULD, James (of Hatch)	AKA
Age 39	Trade / Calling Ploughman	
Offence / Sentence Machine breaking. Transported for 7 years.		
County Wiltshire	Transport Eliza	
Remarks Married with five children (wife Elizabeth). Two of Mould's children became afflicted with typhus within a matter of a few days after his machine breaking offence and his daughter Eliza died of typhoid less than a fortnight after the riot. In addition, although there is no available date, it appears that his youngest child, Joseph, was born only a matter of days before he sailed on the <i>Eliza</i> .		
Convict Conduct Record in VDL July 22, 1834 - Absent from Church- Fined 2/6-.		
Narrative of life in VDL Upon arrival, Mould was assigned to Lieutenant William Gunn at Old Beach. He remained with Gunn until 1834, when he was appointed a constable. He received a ticket of leave in June 1835 and a free pardon on 3 February 1836.		
Death / Final record There is no record of Mould after he received his free pardon in 1836 and it is assumed he left the colony thereafter.		
References		

Name		MOULD, James (of Tisbury)	AKA
Age 25		Trade / Calling Ploughman	
Offence / Sentence Machine breaking and assaulting the Hindon Troop of Yeomanry Cavalry. Transported for 7 years.			
County Wiltshire		Transport Eliza	
Remarks Single.			
Convict Conduct Record in VDL No convictions recorded.			
Narrative of life in VDL Upon arrival, Mould was assigned to Francis von Bibra of Macquarie River. In 1832, he was re-assigned to a Mr Lucas (probably Samuel Lucas of Norfolk Plains) and appears to have remained with Lucas until he received his ticket of leave in June 1835. He received his free pardon on 3 February 1836.			
Death / Final record There is no record of Mould after he received his free pardon in 1836 and it is assumed he left the colony at some date thereafter.			
References			

Name	MUNDAY, William	AKA Mundy
Age 38	Trade / Calling Ploughman	

<b>Offence / Sentence</b> Machine breaking ("several threshing machines"). Transported for 7 years.	
<b>County</b> Wiltshire	<b>Transport</b> Eliza
<b>Remarks</b> Married with six children (wife Elizabeth). Previously tried in England for having stolen a ram and, on another occasion, of having stolen three pounds of bacon and a handkerchief. He was apparently discharged on both occasions, the charges not being proved.	
<b>Convict Conduct Record in VDL</b> June 6, 1835 - Attempted rape- dismissed.	
<b>Narrative of life in VDL</b> Upon arrival, Munday was assigned to Captain William Clark JP of Bothwell. He appears to have remained with Clark until he received his ticket of leave in June 1835. There was only one incident in Munday's convict career of note, and it occurred five days after he received his ticket of leave. He was tried for attempted rape of Elizabeth Piper, but successfully defended himself. The case was dismissed, "being entirely groundless and it appearing that the prosecutrix was very drunk and the Defendant was seeing her home". He received a free pardon on 4 February 1836.	
<b>Death / Final record</b> There is no record of Munday after he received his free pardon in 1836 and it is assumed he left the colony thereafter.	
<b>References</b>	

<b>Name</b> MUSTO, Edward		<b>AKA</b> Master
<b>Age</b> 29	<b>Trade / Calling</b> Ploughman	
<b>Offence / Sentence</b> Machine breaking. Transported for 7 years.		
<b>County</b> Gloucestershire		<b>Transport</b> Eliza
<b>Remarks</b> Single		
<b>Convict Conduct Record in VDL</b> Dec 2, 1835 - Pilfering some wattle bark (value 5/-)- 6 months hard labour on Road Gang, ticket of leave suspended for that period.		
<b>Narrative of life in VDL</b> Upon arrival, Musto was assigned to C.E.H. Cox of Clarence Plains and remained with him until he received a ticket of leave in 1835. After receiving his ticket of leave he may have found it hard to survive without a master, which may explain the conviction for pilfering shortly afterwards. Musto was still on the Road Gang when his free pardon arrived and its effect was suspended until he completed his sentence, which occurred on 20 June 1836. In 1838, he married Mary Williams in the colony.		
<b>Death / Final record</b> There is no record of Musto after his marriage in 1838.		
<b>References</b>		

<b>Name</b> NEWCOMBE, John		<b>AKA</b>
<b>Age</b> 28	<b>Trade / Calling</b> Tailor	
<b>Offence / Sentence</b> Machine breaking. Transported for 7 years.		
<b>County</b> Wiltshire		<b>Transport</b> Eliza

<b>Remarks</b> Married with four children (wife Mary Anna, a tailoress). One previous conviction for assault.
<b>Convict Conduct Record in VDL</b> Aug 9, 1831 - Drunkenness and neglect of duty - reprimanded.
<b>Narrative of life in VDL</b> Upon arrival, Newcombe was assigned to a Mr Lightfoot, presumably to work as a tailor. He remained with Lightfoot until he was moved into Hospital just over a year later, where he died.
<b>Death / Final record</b> Newcombe died in Hobart Hospital on 20 September, 1832.
<b>References</b>

<b>Name</b> NEWMAN, John	<b>AKA</b>
<b>Age</b> 33	<b>Trade / Calling</b> Ploughman
<b>Offence / Sentence</b> Riotous assembly and demolishing iron gates. Transported for life.	
<b>County</b> Hampshire.	<b>Transport</b> Eliza
<b>Remarks</b> Single.	
<b>Convict Conduct Record in VDL</b> May 21, 1836 - Drunk- Reprimanded.	
<b>Narrative of life in VDL</b> Upon arrival, Newman was assigned to Captain Charles Glover of Sorell. He received a conditional pardon on 6 April 1838. Newman clearly wanted to return home, but his conditional pardon prevented this. His sister Elizabeth wrote at least two letters to the Secretary for State in the 1840's requesting that he be given permission to return, claiming her own poverty but to no avail. It appears that Newman remained in the colony, working on various farms as a labourer. In 1838 he had successfully applied to marry Ann Sammons, a female convict, although it is not clear whether he went through with the marriage.	
<b>Death / Final record</b> Newman died at Oatlands in 1887.	
<b>References</b>	

<b>Name</b> NORRIS, Francis	<b>AKA</b>
<b>Age</b> 42	<b>Trade / Calling</b> Bricklayer
<b>Offence / Sentence</b> Robbery. Transported for life.	
<b>County</b> Berkshire	<b>Transport</b> Eliza
<b>Remarks.</b> Widower. One previous conviction for fighting. During the riots, Norris had acted as treasurer for the men of his village of Kintbury, holding all the "fees" extracted from the farmers whose machines they smashed. At the time of his arrest, he was holding 100 pounds in "contributions", as well as a number of copies of receipts.	
<b>Convict Conduct Record in VDL</b> Dec 11, 1840 - Larceny - 6 months on Glenorchy Road Party.	
<b>Narrative of life in VDL</b> Upon arrival, Norris was assigned to the Public Works Department. One historian (N Fox) suggests, without giving the authority for the statement, that he may have been appointed a watchman at the Prisoners' Barracks while still a convict but this is unlikely because he would have been of more use to the	

colonial authorities as a bricklayer in the public works. In April 1836, he married Ann Drury, a free spinster, in Hobart Town, but they did not have any children. He received his conditional pardon on 5 April 1838 and was certainly employed as a watchman in the prisoners' barracks for at least a short period later that year. He appears to have remained working in the south of the colony, probably as a bricklayer for the rest of the next couple of years. Unlike most machine breaker mechanics, he got into trouble after receiving his pardon and served 6 months for larceny in 1840.

**Death / Final record** Died in Van Diemen's Land in 1844.

**References** G Rudé, *Protest and Punishment*, p.118., N Fox, *Berkshire to Botany Bay*, p.145.

<b>Name</b> NORTH, Daniel		<b>AKA</b>
<b>Age</b> 31	<b>Trade / Calling</b> Ploughman, shepherd	
<b>Offence / Sentence</b> Machine breaking. Transported for 7 years.		
<b>County</b> Wiltshire		<b>Transport</b> Eliza
<b>Remarks</b> Married with five children (wife Sarah). One previous conviction for poaching.		
<b>Convict Conduct Record in VDL</b> North was found guilty of drunkenness on June 16 1835, Sept 7 1838, Sept 29 1839, Aug 8 1840, and in July 1841. On each occasion, he was fined 5/-.		
<b>Narrative of life in VDL</b> Upon arrival, North was assigned to the colonial artist John Glover at Patterdale on the northern slopes of Ben Lomond in the north of the island. He remained with Glover until he received his ticket of leave in June 1835. North's conviction for drunkenness occurred a fortnight after he received his ticket, and he may have been celebrating his relative freedom a bit too enthusiastically. He received his free pardon on 3 February 1836 and remained working in the north of the colony. One interesting feature of North's subsequent career is his pattern of a single conviction for drunkenness on an annual basis in the second half of each year until 1841.		
<b>Death / Final record</b> There is no record of North after his last annual conviction for drunkenness in July 1841. The end to his drinking pattern suggests that he left the colony some time thereafter. In the 1841 census in England, his wife Sarah described herself as a widow, but that is certainly not conclusive evidence that he had died by then.		
<b>References</b> ADB		

<b>Name</b> NORTH, Samuel		<b>AKA</b>
<b>Age</b> 33	<b>Trade / Calling</b> Ploughman	
<b>Offence / Sentence</b> Machine breaking. Transported for 7 years.		
<b>County</b> Wiltshire	<b>Transport</b> Eliza	
<b>Remarks</b> Single. One previous conviction for disorderly conduct.		
<b>Convict Conduct Record in VDL</b> Feb 20, 1832 - Neglect of duty (in losing 70 sheep out of a flock of 300 in his		

charge)- Reprimanded.

16 February 1832 - Insolence to his master - 25 lashes.

(Date illegible) 1834 - Being grossly insulting and abusive, and drunk - To be removed from his master and assigned to the other side of the island.

**Narrative of life in VDL** Upon arrival, North was assigned to Captain Tennant in the south of the island. He appears, from his record, to have not got on very well with Tennant and in 1834 was re-assigned to Thomas Diprose at Epping Forest. Their relationship must have been better, because he did not get into trouble again. The property on which he worked was in fact only 14 miles from the property where his close relative Daniel North was working. After receiving his free pardon on 3 February 1836, North moved to the Evandale area. When he married Mary Griffiths in the town in 1845, he described himself as a farmer. At the time, he was living at the farm "Ben Lomond", where Mary also lived.

By 1858 he was leasing 130 acres of agricultural land and by 1862 was leasing 637 acres of agricultural and pastoral land near Evandale. Mary died in 1865 and by 1871 North had reduced his land holding considerably. By 1881, when in his eighties, he appears to not be farming any land but was still living in the Evandale area.

**Death / Final record** North died in the Evandale district on 20 March 1887.

**References**

<b>Name</b>	NORTH, William	<b>AKA</b>	
<b>Age 23</b>	<b>Trade / Calling</b> Ploughman		
<b>Offence / Sentence</b> Machine breaking. Transported for 7 years.			
<b>County</b> Wiltshire		<b>Transport</b> Eliza	
<b>Remarks</b> Single. One previous conviction for leaving his master and another for assault.			
<b>Convict Conduct Record in VDL</b> No convictions recorded.			
<p><b>Narrative of life in VDL</b> Upon arrival, North was assigned to "A. Reed"- probably Alexander Reid JP of Bothwell- and remained with him until he received his ticket of leave in June 1835. After he received his free pardon on 3 February 1836, North remained in the Bothwell area and in 1840 was sharing a farm with his fellow machine breaker and brother-in-law Robert Blake and his soon-to be- brother -in-law John Bowden. On 18 October 1841, he married Sarah Bowden and they had two children.</p> <p>In 1845, he became licensee of the Good Hope Inn near Oatlands and in 1851 he also bought a 400 acre property near Bothwell, which his father-in-law had owned but which had been sold up on a foreclosure. The contract price was 725 pounds.</p> <p>In May 1852, North went to the Victorian goldfields with John Bowden and was also successful there, sending some gold nuggets back to his widowed mother in England.</p>			
<b>Death / Final record</b> Died at Bothwell, May 22, 1871.			
<b>References</b>			

<b>Name</b>	OLDEN, John	<b>AKA</b>	
<b>Age</b>	28	<b>Trade / Calling</b>	Farm labourer
<b>Offence / Sentence</b> Machine breaking (2 threshing machines). Transported for 7 years.			
<b>County</b>	Wiltshire	<b>Transport</b>	Eliza
<b>Remarks</b> Single. His brother was convicted of a similar offence but was not transported.			
<b>Convict Conduct Record in VDL</b> Feb 23, 1835 - Disobedience of orders in refusing to work on New Years Day, alleging it to be a holiday - Admonished.			
<b>Narrative of life in VDL</b> Upon arrival, Olden was assigned to the VDL Company and received his ticket of leave on 17 June 1835. Olden did not remain to work on the Company's estates as a paid servant, but left immediately, turning up in the Morven (Evandale ) District. He received his free pardon on 3 February 1836 and departed Van Diemen's Land some time in the next four years for Port Phillip. He married Agnes Anderson in the new colony by 1841. They had twelve children in total, and the places of their birth suggest the Oldens moved from Big Hill to Geelong and then to Steiglitz.			
<b>Death / Final record</b> Died in Steiglitz, Victoria, on 8 November 1880.			
<b>References</b>			

<b>Name</b>	OLIPHANT, Richard	<b>AKA</b>	
<b>Age</b>	26	<b>Trade / Calling</b>	Butcher
<b>Offence / Sentence</b> Machine breaking. Transported for 7 years.			
<b>County</b>	Kent	<b>Transport</b>	Eliza
<b>Remarks</b> Single.			
<b>Convict Conduct Record in VDL</b> No convictions recorded while he was a convict, but on May 25, 1837 he was convicted of drunkenness in Launceston and fined 5/-.			
<b>Narrative of life in VDL</b> Upon arrival, Oliphant was assigned to "W. Ashbourne" (probably Captain William Ashburner of Westbury). Although no name of his new master is noted, Oliphant was apparently re-assigned on 14 March 1834 to the Norfolk Plains area. He received his ticket of leave in June 1835 and his free pardon on 3 February 1836. He continued working in the north of the colony until he left the island on the <i>Charlotte</i> out of Launceston in March 1839. Also on board the <i>Charlotte</i> was Thomas Golder, who had been involved in the same machine breaking episode as Oliphant, but who had been transported to the colony on the <i>Gilmore</i> almost a year later.			
<b>Death / Final record</b> Oliphant left the colony in 1839 and, with Golder, eventually settled in South Australia.			
<b>References</b> <i>Launceston Advertiser</i> , 21 March 1839.			

<b>Name</b>	OVERY, Thomas	<b>AKA</b>	Overry
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Age 23	Trade / Calling Ploughman
Offence / Sentence Machine breaking. Transported for 7 years.	
County Kent	Transport Eliza
Remarks Single	
<p><b>Convict Conduct Record in VDL</b> Nov 25, 1835- Misdemeanour in taking Margaret Trough from her master's house, supplying her with wine and other misconduct - TL suspended for one fortnight and to work on the roads during that period.</p>	
<p><b>Narrative of life in VDL</b> Upon arrival, Overy was assigned to Captain William Langdon of Bothwell and appears to have remained with him until he received his ticket of leave in 1835.</p> <p>Apart from one indiscretion, committed after he received his ticket, he had a spotless record. He received a free pardon on 3 February 1836.</p>	
<p><b>Death / Final record</b> There is no record of Overy after he received his free pardon in 1836 and it is assumed he left the colony thereafter.</p>	
References	

Name	PAGDEN, John	AKA
Age 18	Trade / Calling Shoemaker	
Offence / Sentence Machine breaking. Transported for 14 years.		
County Sussex	Transport Eliza	
Remarks Single.		
<p><b>Convict Conduct Record in VDL</b> Nov 12, 1832 - Insubordination and endeavouring to ruin the character of his master's servant and also attempting to ruin the reputation of his master's daughter - Admonished and returned to the Crown.</p> <p>Mar 18, 1834- Suspicion of purchasing meat knowing it to have been stolen - Recommended to be dismissed from his situation as post messenger.</p> <p>Aug 17, 1835 - Having in his possession a quantity of clothes disposed of to him by William Cole- Returned to Public Works, it appearing that his master allowed him to work for his own benefit- &amp; to be assigned to the interior.</p>		
<p><b>Narrative of life in VDL</b> Upon arrival, Pagden was assigned to Henry Nicholls, but by 1832 he was working for a Mr Young. Pagden's career as a convict is punctuated with some unusual offences. There is a strong suspicion in these offences that he was willing to act as a receiver of stolen goods, or at least take advantage of the proceeds of other people's crimes. Perhaps his early position as a postal messenger- of which he was eventually stripped - gave him an opportunity to indulge in these kinds of offences.</p> <p>The William Cole who disposed of the clothes to him in 1835 was a fellow machine breaker from Essex, who also came out on the <i>Eliza</i>.</p> <p>After he was assigned to the interior, and removed from temptation, Pagden appears to have settled down and incurred no more convictions in his last two years. He received a free pardon on 15 May 1837.</p>		

**Death / Final record** There is no record of Pagden after he received his free pardon in 1837, and it is assumed he left the colony thereafter.

**References**

<b>Name</b>	PAICE, George	<b>AKA</b>
<b>Age 23</b>	<b>Trade / Calling</b> Ploughman	
<b>Offence / Sentence</b> Machine breaking. Transported for 7 years.		
<b>County</b> Hampshire	<b>Transport</b> Eliza	
<b>Remarks</b> Married with one child (wife Elizabeth). One previous conviction for poaching.		
<b>Convict Conduct Record in VDL</b> No convictions recorded.		
<b>Narrative of life in VDL</b> Upon arrival, Paice was assigned to George Meredith (either junior or senior, but both of whom were settlers at Great Swan Port) and he remained with Meredith until he received his ticket of leave in July 1835. He received a free pardon on 3 February 1836.		
<b>Death / Final record</b> Sailed from Launceston for Melbourne on 10 February 1852 by the <i>Victoria</i> .		
<b>References</b>		

<b>Name</b>	PALMER, George	<b>AKA</b>
<b>Age 37</b>	<b>Trade / Calling</b> Ploughman	
<b>Offence / Sentence</b> Riot and extortion. Transported for 7 years.		
<b>County</b> Hampshire	<b>Transport</b> Eliza	
<b>Remarks</b> Married with 5 children (wife Mary on the parish).		
<b>Convict Conduct Record in VDL</b> No convictions recorded.		
<b>Narrative of life in VDL</b> Upon arrival, Palmer was assigned to George Meredith (possibly along with George Paice). He remained with Meredith until he received his ticket of leave in June 1835 and then received his free pardon on 3 February 1836.  In 1832 and again in 1833, he attempted to arrange for his family to join him in Van Diemen's Land, but even though permission was finally granted, they did not make the journey.		
<b>Death / Final record</b> There is a possibility that Palmer died in New Norfolk in 1875, although that person was described as a schoolteacher by profession.		
<b>References</b>		

<b>Name</b>	PEARCE, John	<b>AKA</b>
<b>Age 20</b>	<b>Trade / Calling</b> Ploughman	
<b>Offence / Sentence</b> Machine breaking. Transported for 7 years.		
<b>County</b> Sussex	<b>Transport</b> Eliza	

<b>Remarks Single.</b> One previous conviction for stealing iron.
<b>Convict Conduct Record in VDL</b> Jan 5, 1832- Insolence - one month's imprisonment. Mar 10, 1837- Absent from muster - Reprimanded.
<b>Narrative of life in VDL</b> Upon arrival, Pearce was assigned to Charles O Parsons at Brown's River and appears to have remained with him until he received his ticket of leave in 1835. Pearce was one of those unfortunate machine breakers whose name was left off the original pardon list sent to Arthur in 1836, and he did not receive a free pardon until 24 April 1837.
<b>Death / Final record</b> There is no record of Pearce after he received his free pardon in 1837 and it is assumed he left the colony thereafter.
<b>References</b>

<b>Name</b> PERRY, John	<b>AKA</b>
<b>Age 50</b>	<b>Trade / Calling</b> Ploughman
<b>Offence / Sentence</b> Machine breaking. Transported for 7 years.	
<b>County</b> Wiltshire	<b>Transport</b> Eliza
<b>Remarks</b> Married with six children (wife Mary). One previous conviction for poaching, although the Hammonds assert that he had been previously convicted up to eight times for poaching. The basis for their assertion is not disclosed.	
<b>Convict Conduct Record in VDL</b> Oct 28, 1833 - Absent from muster and found drunk - Treadwheel for 14 days.	
<b>Narrative of life in VDL</b> Upon arrival, Perry was assigned to William Talbot who had properties at both Oyster Bay and Fingal and had experienced significant success as a pastoralist. By 1833, Perry had been re-assigned to the Public Works, where he remained until he received his ticket of leave in 1835. He received a free pardon on 3 February 1836.	
<b>Death / Final record</b> Died of influenza at Paupers Depot, Port Arthur, on 12 May 1866 (aged 81 years).	
<b>References</b> J and L Hammond, <i>The Village Labourer</i> , p. 294.	

<b>Name</b> PINCHIN, . John	<b>AKA</b>
<b>Age 26</b>	<b>Trade / Calling</b> Ploughman
<b>Offence / Sentence</b> Machine breaking and receiving money with menaces. Transported for 7 years.	
<b>County</b> Wiltshire	<b>Transport</b> Eliza
<b>Remarks</b> Single	
<b>Convict Conduct Record in VDL</b> No convictions recorded.	
<b>Narrative of life in VDL</b> Upon arrival, Pinchin was assigned to David Jameson of Glen Leith and appears to have remained with him until he received his ticket of leave in May 1835. He received his free pardon on 3	

February 1836.
<b>Death / Final record</b> There is no record of Pinchin after he received his free pardon in 1836 and it is assumed he left the colony thereafter. It is possible, for example, that John and Joseph Pinchin left the colony together.
<b>References</b>

<b>Name</b> PINCHIN, Joseph		<b>AKA</b>
<b>Age</b> 43	<b>Trade / Calling</b> Ploughman	
<b>Offence / Sentence</b> Machine breaking. Transported for 7 years.		
<b>County</b> Wiltshire		<b>Transport</b> Eliza
<b>Remarks</b> Married with nine children (wife Hannah). Previous convictions for trespass and assault.		
<b>Convict Conduct Record in VDL</b> Apr 18, 1833 - Insolence and disobedience.- 30 lashes. Nov 20, 1835 -drunk - Ticket suspended for 14 days and to be employed on PW for that period.		
<b>Narrative of life in VDL</b> Upon arrival, Pinchin was assigned to James Radcliffe of Old Beach and he appears to have remained with him until he received his ticket of leave in August 1835. He received his free pardon on 3 February 1836.		
<b>Death / Final record</b> There is no record of Pinchin after he received his free pardon in 1836 and it is assumed he left the colony.		
<b>References</b>		

<b>Name</b> PITMAN, Richard		<b>AKA</b>
<b>Age</b> 20	<b>Trade / Calling</b> Kitchen gardener	
<b>Offence / Sentence</b> Riotous assembly and machine breaking. Transported for 7 years.		
<b>County</b> Wiltshire		<b>Transport</b> Eliza
<b>Remarks</b> Married with six children (wife Mary). Previous conviction for poaching.		
<b>Convict Conduct Record in VDL</b> Jan 16, 1832 - Drunk and disorderly - Reprimanded. Mar 24 1832 - Drunk - Treadwheel until Monday next.		
<b>Narrative of life in VDL</b> Upon arrival, Pitman was assigned to George Frankland, the colonial surveyor general. He remained with Frankland until at least the end of 1833. Then, he was re-assigned to Benjamin Horne JP of Ross and remained with him until he received his ticket of leave in August 1835. He received his free pardon on 3 February 1836.		
<b>Death / Final record</b> There is no record of Pitman after he received his free pardon in 1836 and it is assumed he left the colony.		
<b>References</b> ADB		

<b>Name</b>	POINTER, James	<b>AKA</b>
<b>Age 30</b>	<b>Trade / Calling</b> Ploughman	
<b>Offence / Sentence</b> Machine breaking. Transported for 7 years.		
<b>County</b> Kent.		<b>Transport</b> Eliza
<b>Remarks</b> Married with three children (wife Harriet on the parish).		
<b>Convict Conduct Record in VDL</b> No convictions recorded.		
<p><b>Narrative of life in VDL</b> Upon arrival, Pointer was assigned to William Sharland of New Norfolk. It is unlikely that Pointer stayed with Sharland for the entire period of his assignment, because his convict conduct record contains a reference to him being assigned in the Bothwell area in 1834 before returning to New Norfolk. He received his ticket of leave in July 1835 and received a free pardon on 3 February 1836.</p> <p>A James Pointer married Eliza Eason at Hobart in February 1843, but it was not conclusively the machine breaker Pointer.</p>		
<b>Death / Final record</b> There is no firm record of Pointer after he received his free pardon in 1836 and it is probable that he left the colony.		
<b>References</b> ADB		

<b>Name</b>	PONTING, Christopher	<b>AKA</b>
<b>Age 44</b>	<b>Trade / Calling</b> Ploughman	
<b>Offence / Sentence</b> Machine breaking. Transported for 7 years.		
<b>County</b> Gloucestershire		<b>Transport</b> Eliza
<p><b>Remarks</b> Married with five children (wife Mary on the parish).</p> <p>Previous conviction for disorderly conduct.</p>		
<p><b>Convict Conduct Record in VDL</b> June 12, 1833- Neglect of duty and insolence - Sent to PW, Hobart.</p> <p>Sept 26, 1835 - Complaint of Mrs De Little that he was insolent to her - Admonished.</p>		
<p><b>Narrative of life in VDL</b> Upon arrival, Ponting was assigned to Mrs Burns of Ellen Grove, but within a year he had been sent to the Public Works in Hobart after being convicted of insolence towards her. Ponting must have had a problem with female figures of authority, because in September 1835 he was also admonished for being insolent to a Mrs De Little. The fact that, in September 1835, he had still not received a ticket of leave suggests that he was not a model convict. Even his free pardon was held up for a month until 3 March 1836, for some reason that is not immediately apparent.</p> <p>In April of that year, he sailed from Launceston on the <i>Adelaide</i> for Port Phillip with his new employer, C O Parsons. At some date thereafter, he left the new colony in time to be in his native village in Gloucestershire by 1841.</p>		
<b>Death / Final record</b> Ponting was back in England by 1841.		
<b>References</b>		

<b>Name</b>	POOLE,	<b>AKA</b>
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John	
Age 28	Trade / Calling Ploughman
Offence / Sentence Machine breaking. Transported for 7 years.	
County Gloucestershire	Transport Eliza
Remarks Single. Previous conviction for poaching.	
Convict Conduct Record in VDL Apr 23, 1835 - Drunk - Reprimanded.	
Narrative of life in VDL Upon arrival, Poole was assigned to D. O'Connor (possibly Roderic O'Connor?) and appears to have remained with him until he received his ticket of leave in 1835. He received his free pardon on 3 February 1836.	
Death / Final record There is no record of Poole after he received his free pardon in 1836 and it is assumed he left the colony.	
References	

Name	PORTER, Thomas	AKA
Age 17	Trade / Calling Shepherd	
Offence / Sentence Machine breaking. Transported for 7 years.		
County Wiltshire	Transport Eliza	
Remarks Single		
Convict Conduct Record in VDL No convictions recorded.		
Narrative of life in VDL Upon arrival, Porter was assigned to C Underwood, but by the following year was working for Captain Robert Stewart of Quamby Brook, where he remained until he received his ticket of leave in October 1835. He received his free pardon on 3 February 1836.		
Death / Final record There is no record of Porter after he received his free pardon in 1836 and it is assumed he left the colony.		
References		

Name	POTTICARY, Henry	AKA
Age 30	Trade / Calling Ploughman	
Offence / Sentence Machine breaking. Transported for 7 years.		
County Wiltshire	Transport Eliza	
Remarks Married with three children (wife Elizabeth). After Potticary was transported, a carpenter named Wiliam Farley moved in with Elizabeth and the children.		
Convict Conduct Record in VDL Oct 29, 1832 - Insolence to his overseer - Reprimanded. Jan 14, 1836 - Being out after hours - Admonished.		
Narrative of life in VDL Upon arrival, Potticary was assigned to the prominent colonial lawyer and pastoralist		

<p>Gamaliel Butler. Butler's biographer noted that he achieved success in his profession and added to his enemies, one of whom was the diarist GTW Boyes, who dubbed him 'one of the richest lawyers and greatest rogues in the country'. Potticary remained on one of Butler's many estates in the colony until he received his ticket of leave in June 1835. He received his free pardon on 3 February 1836.</p>	
<p><b>Death / Final record</b> There is no record of Potticary after he received his free pardon in 1836 and it is assumed he left the colony.</p>	
<p><b>References</b> ADB.</p>	

Name PUDNEY, John		AKA
Age 27	Trade / Calling Ploughman	
Offence / Sentence Machine breaking. Transported for 7 years.		
County Essex		Transport Eliza
Remarks Married with one child (wife Sarah on the parish).		
<p><b>Convict Conduct Record in VDL</b> Mar 15, 1832 - Neglect of duty, drunkenness- 30 lashes. Aug 22, 1832 - Falsely accusing his master of allowing him insufficient rations - Reprimanded. Oct 11, 1832 - Refusing to work - reprimanded. Jan 1, 1833 - Refusing to work on New Years Day - Reprimanded. Mar 7, 1834 - Insolence - 14 days solitary confinement. Sept 11, 1834 - Refusing to work and pretending illness - Reprimanded Jan 4, 1836 - Neglect of work and insolence - 30 lashes. Sentence remitted, the prisoner appearing from the surgeon's statement to be unfit to receive punishment.</p>		
<p><b>Narrative of life in VDL</b> Upon arrival, Pudney was assigned to John Gard(i)ner of Erin Lodge on the Macquarie River. Between August and October 1832, after being convicted of falsely accusing Gardner, Pudney was re-assigned to one of the Archer brothers, with whom he had an even worse relationship. Pudney did not receive a ticket of leave, and was granted a free pardon on 3 February 1836.</p>		
<p><b>Death / Final record</b> Pudney departed the colony late in 1838 or early in 1839 and went to South Australia. He married in the new colony and lived in the Onkaparinga area. Pudney died there in 1850.</p>		
References		

<b>Name</b> RADWAY, William		<b>AKA</b>
<b>Age</b> 31	<b>Trade / Calling</b> Ploughman	
<b>Offence / Sentence</b> Machine breaking. Transported for 7 years.		
<b>County</b> Oxfordshire	<b>Transport</b> Eliza	
<b>Remarks</b> Single.		
<b>Convict Conduct Record in VDL</b> No convictions recorded.		
<b>Narrative of life in VDL</b> Upon arrival, Radway was assigned to Captain Patrick Wood of Bothwell. He appears to have remained with Wood until he received his ticket of leave in 1835. He received his free pardon on 3		

February 1836.
<b>Death / Final record</b> There is no record of Radway after he received his free pardon in 1836 and it is assumed he left the colony.
<b>References</b>

<b>Name</b> RANGER, David		<b>AKA</b>
<b>Age</b> 34	<b>Trade / Calling</b> Ploughman	
<b>Offence / Sentence</b> Machine breaking. Transported for 7 years.		
<b>County</b> Wiltshire		<b>Transport</b> Eliza
<b>Remarks</b> Married (wife Jane).		
<b>Convict Conduct Record in VDL</b> Apr 4, 1834- Being upon his own hands and not under proper control, and representing himself to be a free man.- Treadwheel for 10 days.		
<b>Narrative of life in VDL</b> Upon arrival, Ranger was assigned to James Williamson of Hollow Tree and remained with him until 1833. Then, he was re-assigned to a Mr Smailes, with whom he remained until he received his ticket of leave in August 1835. He received his free pardon on 3 February 1836.		
<b>Death / Final record</b> There is no record of Ranger after he received his free pardon in 1836 and it is assumed he left the colony.		
<b>References</b>		

Name		READ, Thomas	AKA
Age 25		Trade / Calling Ploughman	
Offence / Sentence Machine breaking. Transported for life.			
County Kent		Transport Eliza	
Remarks Married (wife Elizabeth on the parish). Previous conviction in 1825 for stealing lead.			
Convict Conduct Record in VDL Between January 1834 and January 1837, Read appeared before the magistrate on twelve occasions, the most common offences being neglect of work and disobedience. He received the lash six times (the highest number for a machine breaker) as well as a number of periods of imprisonment.			
Narrative of life in VDL Upon arrival, Read was assigned to George Dixon of Clyde River and remained with him until January 1834, when a magistrate ordered him to a road party for four months, then to be returned to Dixon. Over the next ten months, Read was convicted of neglect of work and disrespect no less than nine times. When he was finally returned to Dixon, he committed only two minor offences over the next three years. He received his free pardon on 24 April 1837.			
Death / Final record Read departed the colony for Port Phillip on the <i>Lowestoft</i> in 1840.			
References			

<b>Name</b>	REED,	<b>AKA</b>	
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Thomas		
Age 24	Trade / Calling Ploughman, although he had also worked as a chimney sweep.	
Offence / Sentence Machine breaking. Transported for 7 years.		
County Sussex	Transport Eliza	
Remarks Single. One previous conviction for trespass.		
Convict Conduct Record in VDL June 13, 1833 - Constant neglect of duty and using at all times profane language - 6 months imprisonment and to be returned to the PW. Oct 29, 1833 - Chain gang- Neglect of duty - 25 lashes.		
Narrative of life in VDL Upon arrival, Reed was assigned to the VDL Company, but in June 1833 was returned to the Government. Then, until early 1834 at least, he was on the Chain Gang. He received his free pardon on 24 April 1837. He married Liliias Craig, a bounty immigrant in Van Diemen's Land, and they sailed to Port Phillip in 1838. At first he worked as a labourer in the new colony but then turned to his earlier trade as a chimney sweep, working out of Collins Lane. Later, he became a carrier at Emerald Hill (West Footscray) and owned and sold various properties. Reed eventually married four times and moved to Ballarat in 1858, where he again set himself up as a chimney sweep.		
Death / Final record Reed died in Ballarat in 1866. His sons in law continued with his chimney sweep business and his granddaughter married a grandson of a fellow machine breaker, Richard Groves.		
References Information supplied by Margaret Buckland.		

Name	RING, Joseph	AKA
Age 23	Trade / Calling Carpenter	
Offence / Sentence Machine breaking. Transported for 7 years.		
County Oxfordshire	Transport Eliza	
Remarks Single		
Convict Conduct Record in VDL No convictions recorded.		
Narrative of life in VDL Upon arrival, Ring was assigned to the Public Works and remained there until he received his ticket of leave in 1835. He received his free pardon on 3 February 1836.		
Death / Final record There is no record of Ring after he received his free pardon in 1836 and it is assumed he left the colony.		
References		

Name	RIXON, Thomas	AKA
Age 45	Trade / Calling Ploughman	
Offence / Sentence Machine breaking and assaulting the Hindon Troop of Yeoman Cavalry. Transported for 7		

years.	
County Wiltshire	Transport Eliza
<b>Remarks</b> Married with five children (wife Elizabeth). One previous conviction for poaching.	
<b>Convict Conduct Record in VDL</b> No convictions recorded.	
<b>Narrative of life in VDL</b> Upon arrival, Rixon was assigned to Thomas Buxton of Little Swan Port and remained with him until he received his ticket of leave on 1 June 1835. He died five weeks later.	
<b>Death / Final record</b> Died in Van Diemen's Land, 6 July 1835.	
<b>References</b>	

<b>Name</b> ROBERTS, Isaac		<b>AKA</b> Rabbits
<b>Age</b> 23	<b>Trade / Calling</b> Shepherd	
<b>Offence / Sentence</b> Machine breaking and demanding money with menace. Transported for 7 years.		
<b>County</b> Wiltshire		<b>Transport</b> Eliza
<b>Remarks</b> Single One petition signed by many local landowners and other gentry in favour of Roberts claimed that, in fact, the riot offences were carried out by Stephen Roberts, Isaac's twin brother. Presumably Lord Melbourne was not convinced, because his conviction was not overturned.		
<b>Convict Conduct Record in VDL</b> No convictions recorded.		
<b>Narrative of life in VDL</b> Upon arrival, Roberts was assigned to Captain Robert Hepburn of St Paul's River, Great Swan Port. Apart from a period spent on loan to Thomas Buxton, another local settler at nearby Little Swan Port in 1833, Roberts spent his entire period of assignment with Hepburn. He received his ticket of leave in June 1835 and his free pardon on 3 February 1836.		
<b>Death / Final record</b> There is no record of Roberts after he received his free pardon in 1836 and it is assumed he left the colony thereafter.		
<b>References</b>		

<b>Name</b> ROGERS, William		<b>AKA</b>
<b>Age</b> 20	<b>Trade / Calling</b> Ploughman	
<b>Offence / Sentence</b> Machine breaking and demanding money with menace. Transported for 7 years.		
<b>County</b> Wiltshire	<b>Transport</b> Eliza	
<b>Remarks</b> Single		
<b>Convict Conduct Record in VDL</b> No convictions recorded.		
<b>Narrative of life in VDL</b> Upon arrival, Rogers was assigned to the VDL Company, but died within three months of consumption contracted on the long sea journey.		

<b>Death / Final record</b> Rogers died of consumption at Woolnorth (VDL Company estate) on 8 September 1831.	
<b>References</b>	
<b>Name</b> ROSE, John	<b>AKA</b>
<b>Age</b> 25	<b>Trade / Calling</b> Ploughman
<b>Offence / Sentence</b> Machine breaking and damaging furniture. Transported for 7 years.	
<b>County</b> Wiltshire	<b>Transport</b> Eliza
<b>Remarks</b> Widower with two children. Previous convictions in 1825 for rioting and assault. Also for trespass.	
<b>Convict Conduct Record in VDL</b> No convictions recorded.	
<b>Narrative of life in VDL</b> Upon arrival, Rose was assigned to Mr William Champ, formerly of the 63rd Regiment (and later the first premier of Tasmania), at New Norfolk. Champ was obliged to rejoin his regiment in India temporarily and, within a year, Rose was re-assigned to a Captain Armstrong and remained with him until he received his ticket of leave in June 1835. He received his free pardon on 3 February 1836. In December 1839, approval was given for Rose to marry Elizabeth Shanks, a convict.	
<b>Death / Final record</b> There is no record of Rose after he married in 1839 and it is likely he left the colony thereafter.	
<b>References</b> ADB	

<b>Name</b> SEAL, Samuel	<b>AKA</b> Seale
<b>Age</b> 34	<b>Trade / Calling</b> Boot and shoe maker.
<b>Offence / Sentence</b> Machine breaking. Transported for 14 years.	
<b>County</b> Gloucestershire, although he was born in Malmesbury in Wiltshire. Seal was one of the very few machine breakers who had moved away from his village of birth.	<b>Transport</b> Eliza
<b>Remarks</b> Single. Previously charged with rape, but no Bill. Seal was an ex-Royal Navy man, having served for 3 years aboard the frigate HMS <i>Penelope</i> .	
<b>Convict Conduct Record in VDL</b> Oct 27, 1831 - Drunkenness -admonished May 16, 1832 - Overstaying his (?) - returned to PW. Oct 21, 1833 - Insubordination - 50 lashes Nov 23, 1833 - Drunkenness upon view at Police station - 4 hours in stocks Mar 8, 1833 - Drunkenness - 1 month hard labour Chain Gang (?) - Disobedience and absenting himself without leave - 6 months Chain Gang and returned to PW. Oct 10, 1834 - Drunk - 1 month's imprisonment.	

Feb 7, 1835 - Absconding - 12 months hard labour Launceston Chain Gang
Jan 2 1838 - receiving eggs value of three shillings, the property of John Smith -12 months Spring Hill Road Party and conduct to be reported upon.
June 10, 1839 - Misconduct - 2 days solitary confinement
July 7, 1839 - Misconduct - reprimanded
Sept 21, 1839 - Drunkenness, gross neglect of duty - 3 months hard labour
July 12, 1841 - Drunkenness - 7 days hard labour
July 8, 1844 - Drunkenness - fined 5 shillings.
<b>Narrative of life in VDL</b> Upon arrival, Seal was assigned to John Montagu, a senior colonial bureaucrat who had married a niece of Arthur's. But Seal's record of drunkenness and insubordination saw him being sent to the Chain Gang within a year, from where he absconded but was re-captured. He did not receive a ticket of leave and was probably still on the Public Works when he received his free pardon on 3 August 1837. Within a year though, he was back on the road gang, and he continued to accumulate convictions for drunkenness and misconduct. He received his second free pardon in 1845.
<b>Death / Final record</b> It is probable that Seal died in Oatlands in September 1868.
<b>References</b> I Wyatt, <i>Transportees From Gloucester</i> , ADB.

<b>Name</b> SEAMAN, John		<b>AKA</b>
<b>Age</b> 45	<b>Trade / Calling</b> Ploughman	
<b>Offence / Sentence</b> Stealing a gun barrel. Transported for life.		
<b>County</b> Kent.	<b>Transport</b> Eliza	
<b>Remarks</b> Married with 3 children (wife Mary on the parish). Previous convictions for burglary, assault and a misdemeanour. Also tried for, but acquitted of, arson.		
<b>Convict Conduct Record in VDL</b> Jan 22, 1836 - Constantly quarrelling and creating a riot amongst his fellow servants, absenting himself without leave, speaking to his fellow servants in a disrespectful manner about his mistress.- Two months hard labour, Constitution Hill. May 4, 1836 - General idleness. Returned to Bagdad Road Party. Feb 13, 1838 - Idleness and insolence - Four months hard labour and returned to Government (Spring Hill Party).		
<b>Narrative of life in VDL</b> Seaman came to the colony with a bad record, and his subsequent conduct confirmed his reputation. Upon arrival, he was assigned to John Dean of Upper Dromedary. Over the following years he was re-assigned on a number of occasions in the Upper Derwent/Brighton area, but was always returned to the Road Parties for offences of idleness, insolence and quarrelling with his fellow servants. By 1836, he had been assigned to George Rayner of Upper Derwent, then later to a Mr McKay and then to Francis Flexmore in Green Ponds. Eventually, he received a conditional pardon on 5 April 1838.		
<b>Death / Final record</b> There is no record of Seaman after he received his conditional pardon in 1838. It is likely he left the colony thereafter.		

<b>References</b>	
<b>Name</b> SHEPHERD, Aaron	<b>AKA</b> Sheperd, Shepherd
<b>Age</b> 40	<b>Trade / Calling</b> Ploughman
<b>Offence / Sentence</b> Machine breaking. Transported for 7 years.	
<b>County</b> Wiltshire	<b>Transport</b> Eliza
<b>Remarks</b> Married with two children (wife Isabella).	
<b>Convict Conduct Record in VDL</b> No convictions recorded.	
<b>Narrative of life in VDL</b> Upon arrival, Shepherd was assigned to Thomas Fletcher, grantee of "Tallentire" at Lake River. He remained with Fletcher until he received his ticket of leave in July 1835. He received his free pardon on 3 February 1836.	
<b>Death / Final record</b> Records suggest that Shepherd may have still been in Hobart in 1851, but no recorded reference exists in relation to him thereafter. It is possible that he left the colony to go to the Victorian goldfields but he would have been almost 60 years old by then.	
<b>References</b>	

<b>Name</b> SHEPHERD, Charles	<b>AKA</b> Sheppard, Shepperd.
<b>Age</b> 26	<b>Trade / Calling</b> Ploughman
<b>Offence / Sentence</b> Machine breaking and breaking iron gates. Transported for life.	
<b>County</b> Hampshire.	<b>Transport</b> Eliza
<b>Remarks</b> Married with two children (wife Christabella on the parish).	
<b>Convict Conduct Record in VDL</b> Oct 7, 1831 - Drunkenness and neglect of duty - Treadwheel for 14 days. Nov 21, 1831 - Drunk and found at White Horse Public House - Treadwheel 4 days. Dec 27, 1832 - Absent without leave - Reprimanded.	
<b>Narrative of life in VDL</b> Upon arrival, Shepherd was assigned to the property of Henry Emmett of Macquarie River. Emmett was chief clerk of the colonial office at this time. By 1832, Shepherd had been re-assigned to J. B. Thomas and appears to have remained with Thomas until he received his conditional pardon on 6 April 1838. In December 1842, this was converted into a free pardon.	
<b>Death / Final record</b> It is probable that Shepherd died in Sorell in March 1892, the result of an accident. He was described at the time as a labourer. In a census in 1851, Christabella referred to herself as a widow.	
<b>References</b> ADB	

<b>Name</b> SHEPHERD, John	<b>AKA</b> Sheppard, Shepperd
<b>Age</b> 21	<b>Trade / Calling</b> Ploughman

<b>Offence / Sentence</b> Machine breaking. Transported for 7 years.	
<b>County</b> Wiltshire	<b>Transport</b> Eliza
<b>Remarks</b> Single	
<b>Convict Conduct Record in VDL</b> No convictions recorded.	
<b>Narrative of life in VDL</b> Upon arrival, Shepherd was assigned to Joshua Ferguson of Norfolk Plains and remained with him until he received his ticket of leave in June 1835. He received his free pardon on 3 February 1836. Rudé and Hobsbawm believe he may have settled in the colony as a brickmaker.	
<b>Death / Final record</b> It is possible Shepherd may have been in the colony until at least 1848.	
<b>References</b> Rudé and Hobsbawm, <i>Captain Swing</i> , p. 277.	

<b>Name</b> SHIP, Thomas		<b>AKA</b>
<b>Age</b> 52	<b>Trade / Calling</b> Ploughman	
<b>Offence / Sentence</b> Machine breaking. Transported for 7 years.		
<b>County</b> Essex	<b>Transport</b> Eliza	
<b>Remarks</b> Married with three children (wife Hannah).		
<b>Convict Conduct Record in VDL</b> May 11, 1835 - Out after hours - Reprimanded.		
<b>Narrative of life in VDL</b> Upon arrival, Ship was assigned to Thomas Smith of Sandy Bay. By 1835, he had been re-assigned to a Mr Stewart and remained with him until he received his ticket of leave. He received his free pardon on 3 February 1836.		
<b>Death / Final record</b> There is some evidence to suggest that Ship may have left the colony by 1839 and returned to his family in Essex.		
<b>References</b>		

<b>Name</b> SIDDERS, William		<b>AKA</b> Siddens, Deverson
<b>Age</b> 26	<b>Trade / Calling</b> Ploughman	
<b>Offence / Sentence</b> Machine breaking. Transported for 7 years.		
<b>County</b> Kent	<b>Transport</b> Eliza	
<b>Remarks</b> Single		
<b>Convict Conduct Record in VDL</b> No convictions recorded.		
<b>Narrative of life in VDL</b> Upon arrival, Sidders was assigned to William Parramore's property at Richmond. Since 1827 Parramore had been private secretary to Arthur, with whom he had a strong relationship. Sidders appears to have remained on Parramore's property until he received his ticket of leave in 1835. He received a free pardon on 3 February 1836.		
<b>Death / Final record</b> There is no record of Sidders after he received his free pardon in 1836 and it is assumed he left the colony.		
<b>References</b> ADB		

<b>Name</b>	SILCOCK, John	<b>AKA</b>
<b>Age</b> 27	<b>Trade / Calling</b> Ploughman	
<b>Offence / Sentence</b> Rioting and machine breaking. Transported for 7 years.		
<b>County</b> Hampshire	<b>Transport</b> Eliza	
<b>Remarks</b> Single		
<b>Convict Conduct Record in VDL</b> No convictions recorded.		
<b>Narrative of life in VDL</b> Upon arrival, Silcock was assigned to Captain Joseph Watson of Macquarie River and appears to have remained with him until he received his ticket of leave in June 1835. He received a free pardon on 3 February 1836. In 1841 Silcock, who was still a labourer, married Sarah Blackwell, a widow, in Launceston where they continued to live for at least another two years.		
<b>Death / Final record</b> Silcock and his wife appeared in a VDL census for 1843, but not thereafter and it is assumed they left the colony.		
<b>References</b> G Rudé, <i>Protest and Punishment</i> , p.115.		

<b>Name</b>	SKIT(T)RELL Charles	<b>AKA</b>
<b>Age</b> 26	<b>Trade / Calling</b> Ploughman	
<b>Offence / Sentence</b> Machine breaking and obtaining beer by threats and menaces. Transported for 7 years.		
<b>County</b> Wiltshire	<b>Transport</b> Eliza	
<b>Remarks</b> Single		
<b>Convict Conduct Record in VDL</b> Aug 19, 1833 - Gross neglect of duty and insolence - 50 lashes.		
<b>Narrative of life in VDL</b> Upon arrival, Skitrell was assigned to a Mr Vincent and appears to have remained with him until he received a ticket of leave in August 1835. He received a free pardon on 3 February 1836.		
<b>Death / Final record</b> There is no record of Skitrell after he received his free pardon in 1836 and it is assumed he left the colony.		
<b>References</b>		

<b>Name</b>	SLADE, John	<b>AKA</b>
<b>Age</b> 45	<b>Trade / Calling</b> Ploughman	
<b>Offence / Sentence</b> Breaking gates. Transported for life.		
<b>County</b> Hampshire	<b>Transport</b> Eliza	
<b>Remarks</b> Married with seven children (wife Sarah on the parish).		
<b>Convict Conduct Record in VDL</b> June 4 1835 - Drunk and losing a musket entrusted to his charge - 7 days solitary confinement on b&w.		
<b>Narrative of life in VDL</b> Upon arrival, Slade was assigned to a Mr A Clark and he appears to have remained with him until he received his conditional pardon on 5 April 1838.		

**Death / Final record** There is no record of Slade after he received his conditional pardon in 1838 and it is assumed he left the colony.

**References**

<b>Name</b>	SMITH, George	<b>AKA</b>	Ewan, Ewens
<b>Age 36</b>	<b>Trade / Calling</b> Blacksmith		
<b>Offence / Sentence</b> Machine breaking and destroying furniture. Transported for 7 years.			
<b>County</b> Wiltshire		<b>Transport</b> Eliza	
<p><b>Remarks</b> Married with eleven children (wife Mary).</p> <p>Smith's large family included two sets of twins and his youngest child, Stephen, was born less than a fortnight before the Eliza sailed. On arrival in Hobart Town, Smith stated that he had only ten children, so he might not have been aware of the recent birth of Stephen when the Eliza sailed.</p> <p>He had also recently served seven weeks in gaol in England pending trial on an assault charge, because he had no surety for bail. He was subsequently found not guilty.</p>			
<b>Convict Conduct Record in VDL</b> No convictions recorded.			
<b>Narrative of life in VDL</b> Upon arrival, Smith was assigned to Captain Patrick Wood of Bothwell and remained with him until he received his ticket of leave in June 1835. He received his free pardon on 3 February 1836.			
<p><b>Death / Final record</b> There is no record of Smith in the colony after he received his free pardon in 1836.</p> <p>In a census in 1851, Mary Smith his wife described herself as still being married to a blacksmith, but it is not clear whether he had returned to England by then.</p>			
<b>References</b>			

<b>Name</b>	SMITH, Stephen	<b>AKA</b>	
<b>Age 26</b>	<b>Trade / Calling</b> Ploughman		
<b>Offence / Sentence</b> Machine breaking. Transported for 14 years.			
<b>County</b> Sussex		<b>Transport</b> Eliza	
<p><b>Remarks</b> Married with two children (wife Mary).</p> <p>One previous conviction for poaching.</p>			
<p><b>Convict Conduct Record in VDL</b> July 16, 1832 - Insolence to his mistress - Admonished.</p> <p>Aug 1, 1833 - Inducing his master's (son?), a boy, to allow him clandestinely to take a quantity of sugar from his master's store rooms - 50 lashes.</p> <p>Nov 27, 1834 - Suspicion of having stolen some tea and sugar - Admonished.</p> <p>Aug 24, 1835 - Absent without permission - 2 days imprisonment</p> <p>Mar 14, 1836 - Being in a public house - Admonished.</p>			
<b>Narrative of life in VDL</b> Upon arrival, Smith was assigned to a Lieutenant Murray, and remained with him until 1834, when he was re-assigned to a Mr Hesse, with whom he remained until he received his free pardon on 24 April, 1837. In 1832, Smith wrote to Mary to urge her to come out to the colony with their children; she sought			



the assistance of the parish and the parish agreed to provide free passage out to the colony for her and their children. It is not known whether they made the voyage.

Smith's main weakness appears to have been a sweet tooth, which got him into trouble from time to time.

**Death / Final record** There is no record of Smith after he received his free pardon in 1837 and it is assumed he left the colony.

#### References

<b>Name</b>	SMITH, Thomas	<b>AKA</b>	
<b>Age</b>	29	<b>Trade / Calling</b>	Ploughman
<b>Offence / Sentence</b> Machine breaking. Transported for 7 years.			
<b>County</b> Gloucestershire		<b>Transport</b> Eliza	
<b>Remarks</b> Married with three children (wife Rachel on the parish).			
<b>Convict Conduct Record in VDL</b> Nov 1832 - Rescuing from Jas Edwards, an assistant servant of W. Kermode Esq. some cattle he was driving to the pound - Charge dismissed. March 10 1838- Stealing 6 bullocks to the value of 62 pounds- no record of the outcome.			
<b>Narrative of life in VDL</b> Upon arrival, Smith was assigned to Captain Hugh Wilson (master mariner) of New Norfolk and appears to have remained with Wilson until he received his ticket of leave in 1835. He received his free pardon on 3 February 1836.			
<b>Death / Final record</b> There is no record of Smith after he was ordered to stand trial for stealing in 1838. If he had been found guilty, he would have certainly received a sentence of 7 years at least.			
<b>References</b>			

<b>Name</b>	SMITH, William	<b>AKA</b>	
<b>Age</b>	33	<b>Trade / Calling</b>	Ploughman
<b>Offence / Sentence</b> Rioting and machine breaking. Transported for 7 years.			
<b>County</b> Wiltshire		<b>Transport</b> Eliza	
<b>Remarks</b> Married with three children (wife Mary). Previous conviction for stealing two dishes.			
<b>Convict Conduct Record in VDL</b> June 4, 1874 - Launceston- Receiving stolen goods (kangaroo and wallaby skins). Sentenced to two years imprisonment.			
<b>Narrative of life in VDL</b> Upon arrival, Smith was assigned to Francis Allison of Macquarie River and appears to have remained with him until he received his ticket of leave in October 1835. He received a free pardon on 3 February 1836. Nothing more is known of him until his prosecution in 1874.			
<b>Death / Final record</b> The final record for Smith has him sentenced to two years imprisonment in the colony in 1874. He would have been almost eighty when he was released.			
<b>References</b>			

<b>Name</b>	SNOOK(E), William	<b>AKA</b>	Snooks
<b>Age</b> 26	<b>Trade / Calling</b> Ploughman		
<b>Offence / Sentence</b> Machine breaking. Transported for 7 years.			
<b>County</b> Wiltshire		<b>Transport</b> Eliza	
<b>Remarks</b> Single			
<b>Convict Conduct Record in VDL</b> No convictions recorded.			
<b>Narrative of life in VDL</b> Upon arrival, Snook was assigned to James Brumby, a former officer in the New South Wales Corps and currently a district chief constable. Brumby was co-tenant with James Hortle of a property at Norfolk Plains and Snook remained with him until he received his ticket of leave in June 1835. Snook received his free pardon on 3 February 1836 and remained in the north of the colony as a labourer. In October 1840 at Longford he married Louisa Gilham, the 16 year old daughter of an ex convict. They had two children in Longford and then moved to nearby Westbury, where they had two more children. At Westbury they lived in a house owned by the Reverend Bishton.			
<b>Death / Final record</b> Died at Westbury on 19 July 1852, of inflammation of the lungs.			
<b>References</b> ADB			

<b>Name</b>	SNOW, William	<b>AKA</b>	
<b>Age</b> 26	<b>Trade / Calling</b> Farm labourer		
<b>Offence / Sentence</b> Machine breaking. Transported for 14 years.			
<b>County</b> Sussex		<b>Transport</b> Eliza	
<b>Remarks</b> Single. One prior conviction for selling a stolen trowel.			
<b>Convict Conduct Record in VDL</b> Sep 30, 1831 - Trafficking with Government clothes.- Admonished, being generally well behaved.			
<b>Narrative of life in VDL</b> Snow's name in the assignment list for the <i>Eliza</i> does not have the name of a settler or department next to it, but within a month of his arrival, he was employed by the Public Works. He received a free pardon on 24 April 1837. Hobsbawm and Rudé believe he may have then settled in the colony as a baker, but this is unlikely.			
<b>Death / Final record</b> There is no record of Snow after he received his free pardon in 1837 and it is assumed he left the colony.			
<b>References</b> Hobsbawm and Rudé, p.227.			

<b>Name</b>	SPENCER, William	<b>AKA</b>	
<b>Age</b> 22	<b>Trade / Calling</b> Ploughman		
<b>Offence / Sentence</b> Machine breaking. Transported for 7 years.			

County Gloucestershire	Transport Eliza
Remarks Single	
Convict Conduct Record in VDL No convictions recorded.	
Narrative of life in VDL Upon arrival, Spencer was recorded as having been assigned to Captain Bell. This may have been Major Thomas Bell of the Jordan River. Spencer appears to have remained with Bell until he received his ticket of leave in 1835. He received a free pardon on 3 February 1836.	
Death / Final record There is no record of Spencer after he received his free pardon in 1836.	
References	

Name	STANNARD, John	AKA
Age 27	Trade / Calling Ploughman	
Offence / Sentence Machine breaking. Transported for 7 years.		
County Kent	Transport Eliza	
Remarks Single		
Convict Conduct Record in VDL May 28, 1832 - Drunk and out after hours - Admonished.		
Narrative of life in VDL Upon arrival, Stannard was assigned to the property of Joseph Hone, the Master of the Supreme Court. Stannard's conduct record indicates that he was working in the New Norfolk district in 1833 and the Bothwell District in 1834. He received a free pardon on 3 February 1836.		
Death / Final record There is no record of Stannard after he received his free pardon in 1836, although Hobsbawm and Rudé believe that he remained in the colony and became a farmer .		
References Hobsbawm and Rudé, p. 277, <i>ADB</i> .		

Name	STEEL(E), Edmund	AKA
Age 42	Trade / Calling Farm labourer	
Offence / Sentence Machine breaking. Transported for life.		
County Berkshire	Transport Eliza	
Remarks Married with eight children (wife Maria).		
Convict Conduct Record in VDL No convictions recorded.		
Narrative of life in VDL Upon arrival, Steele was assigned to Robert Taylor who had recently inherited the large property of Valleyfield at Macquarie River from his father. Steele remained with Taylor until at least the end of 1835, and probably for longer. In September 1834, Steele had successfully applied for free passage for Maria and all eight of their children, but they did not come out to the colony. He received his free pardon on 24 April 1837. In November of that year, he married Martha Saunders, an emigrant widow and moved to Geelong in the Port Phillip District. In 1844, Maria died and some time thereafter, Steele took Martha and their two children back to England. In 1848 Steele and his family, along with one of his sons by his first marriage		

(with his wife) sailed for Port Phillip as assisted migrants and settled again in Geelong.
<b>Death / Final record</b> Steele died in Victoria in 1865.
<b>References</b>

<b>Name</b> STEVENS, Joshua		<b>AKA</b>
<b>Age</b> 42	<b>Trade / Calling</b> Ploughman (although Wyatt records him as a tinker/razor grinder).	
<b>Offence / Sentence</b> Machine breaking. Transported for 14 years.		
<b>County</b> Gloucestershire		<b>Transport</b> Eliza
<b>Remarks</b> Married with seven children (wife on the parish). Prior conviction for trespass. Formerly served in the 11th Light Dragoons. Brother Robert on the <i>Eliza</i> as well.		
<b>Convict Conduct Record in VDL</b> No convictions recorded.		
<b>Narrative of life in VDL</b> Upon arrival, Stevens was assigned to the property of Captain William Moriarty, an assistant police magistrate and port officer for Launceston and, from 1832, Hobart Town. Stevens remained on Moriarty's property until his death in 1836.		
<b>Death / Final record</b> Died in the service of Captain Moriarty, 13 November 1836.		
<b>References</b> I Wyatt, <i>Transportees From Gloucester</i> , ADB.		

<b>Name</b> STEVENS, Robert		<b>AKA</b>
<b>Age</b> 50	<b>Trade / Calling</b> Ploughman (although Wyatt described him, like his brother, as a tinker/razor grinder.)	
<b>Offence / Sentence</b> Machine breaking. Transported for 14 years.		
<b>County</b> Gloucestershire		<b>Transport</b> Eliza
<b>Remarks</b> Married with seven children (wife on parish at Chedworth) One of his daughters, Charity, had been transported to Van Diemen's Land on the <i>Eliza 1</i> , a female convict transport, in 1829.		
<b>Convict Conduct Record in VDL</b> Apr 8, 1835 - Being tipsy - Admonished.		
<b>Narrative of life in VDL</b> Upon arrival, Stevens was assigned to a Mr Storey of Liverpool and he appears to have remained with him until he received his free pardon on 24 April 1837.		
<b>Death / Final record</b> There is no record of Robert Stevens after he received his free pardon in 1837. It is possible that, after gaining his freedom, he may have settled in the Launceston area, where his daughter Charity was still assigned. Charity, by the way, did not gain her freedom until July 1839; that month she married a seaman in Launceston but just over two weeks later, she died.		
<b>References</b> I Wyatt, <i>Transportees From Gloucester</i> , CON 32/2, p.215 and AOTAS RGD 37-1839-311.		

<b>Name</b>	STONE,	<b>AKA</b>	
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William	
Age 31	Trade / Calling Ploughman
Offence / Sentence Machine breaking. Transported for 7 years.	
County Kent	Transport Eliza
Remarks Widower with four children.	
Convict Conduct Record in VDL No convictions recorded.	
Narrative of life in VDL Upon arrival, Stone was assigned to a Mr The(o) mloe, and appears to have remained with him until he received his ticket of leave in 1835. He received his free pardon on 3 February 1836.	
Death / Final record There is no record of Stone after he received his free pardon in 1836 and it is assumed he left the colony.	
References	

Name	STROOD, Thomas	AKA	Stroud
Age 21	Trade / Calling Ploughman		
Offence / Sentence Machine breaking. Transported for 7 years.			
County Kent	Transport Eliza		
Remarks Single			
Convict Conduct Record in VDL No convictions recorded.			
Narrative of life in VDL Upon arrival, Strood was assigned to George Parramore of Ross and appears to have remained with him until he received his ticket of leave in 1835. He received his free pardon on 3 February 1836.			
Death / Final record There is no record of Strood after he received his free pardon in 1836 and it is assumed he left the colony.			
References			

Name	SYDENHAM, Edward	AKA	
Age 21	Trade / Calling Tailor		
Offence / Sentence Riotous assembly and machine breaking. Transported for 7 years.			
County Hampshire	Transport Eliza		
Remarks Single. Sydenham had a withered and useless left hand. He was regarded as one of the ringleaders of the unrest in his small village of Warblington.			
Convict Conduct Record in VDL Feb 20, 1832 - Found in a public house - Reprimanded. May 6, 1833 - Drunk and out after hours - Cell for 6 nights Nov 26, 1833 - Drunk, disorderly and abusing Mr Waters - PB for 12 nights. Mar 13, 1835 - Neglect of duty - 20 lashes May 28, 1835 - Neglect of duty - one month's imprisonment Sept 29, 1835 - Drunk at a public house- 3 months on road party.			

<b>May 3, 1836 - Stealing - found not guilty.</b>
<b>Narrative of life in VDL</b> Upon arrival, Sydenham was assigned to the Public Works and remained with the PW until he received his free pardon on 3 February 1836. Sydenham gathered an enviable record of convictions for neglect of duty and drinking, and increasingly harsh sentences failed to deter him. He was still in the Public Works when he received a free pardon. A month later, he was sent for trial on a charge of stealing a sheep the value of one pound, but was found not guilty.
<b>Death / Final record</b> Died on the Tasman Peninsula, 10 January 1856.
<b>References</b> <i>Hampshire Telegraph</i> , 22 November 1830.

<b>Name</b>	THORNTON, Henry	<b>AKA</b>
<b>Age</b> 38	<b>Trade / Calling</b> Ploughman	
<b>Offence / Sentence</b> Machine breaking. Transported for 7 years.		
<b>County</b> Wiltshire	<b>Transport</b> Eliza	
<b>Remarks</b> Single One previous conviction for bastardy.		
<b>Convict Conduct Record in VDL</b> No convictions recorded.		
<b>Narrative of life in VDL</b> Upon arrival, Thornton was assigned to a Mr Furlong and remained with him until he received his ticket of leave in August 1835. He received a free pardon on 3 February 1836.		
<b>Death / Final record</b> There is no record of Thornton after he received his free pardon in 1836 and it is assumed he left the colony.		
<b>References</b>		

<b>Name</b> TICKNER, John		<b>AKA</b> Tichner
<b>Age</b> 58	<b>Trade / Calling</b> Bricklayer	
<b>Offence / Sentence</b> Machine breaking. Transported for 7 years.		
<b>County</b> Kent		<b>Transport</b> Eliza
<b>Remarks</b> Married with seven children (wife Susannah on the parish).		
<b>Convict Conduct Record in VDL</b> No convictions recorded.		
<b>Narrative of life in VDL</b> Upon arrival, Tickner was assigned to the Public Works and remained with the department until he received his ticket of leave in 1835. He received his free pardon on 3 February 1836.		
<b>Death / Final record</b> There is no record of Tickner after he received his free pardon in 1836. He would, by then, have been 63 years old.		
<b>References</b>		

<b>Name</b>	TIMBRELL, Benjamin	<b>AKA</b>	Timbrill
<b>Age</b> 26	<b>Trade / Calling</b> Ploughman		

<b>Offence / Sentence</b> Machine breaking. Transported for 7 years.	
<b>County</b> Gloucestershire	<b>Transport</b> Eliza
<b>Remarks</b> Married with one child (wife Sylvia on the parish).	
<b>Convict Conduct Record in VDL</b> July 24, 1834 - Embezzling money from his mistress - discharged. Same date - Neglect of duty - 3 months hard labour in chains.	
<b>Narrative of life in VDL</b> Upon arrival, Timbrell was assigned to major Henry Oakes (formerly of the East India Company Service) of New Norfolk. Following his trial for embezzling money from Mrs Oakes, Timbrell was sent to the Road Gang on the lesser charge of neglect of duty. Afterwards, he was assigned in the Richmond area.  He received his free pardon on 3 February 1836 and in December of that year, sailed for Port Phillip on the <i>Adelaide</i> .	
<b>Death / Final record</b> Died in Victoria, 1838.	
<b>References</b>	

<b>Name</b>	TONGS, John	<b>AKA</b>	
<b>Age</b> 34	<b>Trade / Calling</b> Blacksmith		
<b>Offence / Sentence</b> Machine breaking. Transported for 7 years.			
<b>County</b> Hampshire	<b>Transport</b> Eliza		
<b>Remarks</b> Married with five children (wife Fanny on the parish)			
<b>Convict Conduct Record in VDL</b> No convictions recorded.			
<b>Narrative of life in VDL</b> Upon arrival, Tongs was assigned to Joseph Archer at Norfolk Plains (Longford) and remained with him until he received his ticket of leave in June 1835. He received a free pardon on 3 February 1836 and appears to have remained in the Longford area for a couple of years. By 1838, Tongs was living in Evandale and remained there until 1842, when he returned to England. He was back in the colony by January 1843 with his wife and five children, this time as a free immigrant.  He lived in the Longford area, working at his trade, and died in 1869. He was a staunch Wesleyan and was a lay preacher in the local church. His headstone records that he was "a consistent member and useful office bearer in the Methodist Church".			
<b>Death / Final record</b> Tongs died on 10 June 1869 in Longford.			
<b>References</b>			

<b>Name</b>	TOPP, Thomas	<b>AKA</b>	
<b>Age</b> 21	<b>Trade / Calling</b> Ploughman		
<b>Offence / Sentence</b> Assault and machine breaking. Transported for 7 years.			
<b>County</b> Wiltshire	<b>Transport</b> Eliza		
<b>Remarks</b> Single.			

Two previous convictions, one for poaching and one for vagrancy.
<b>Convict Conduct Record in VDL</b> No convictions recorded.
<b>Narrative of life in VDL</b> Upon arrival, Topp was assigned to John Bisdee Senior JP at Bothwell (or possibly, by this time, Bisdee was on his new property at Jericho). It is likely he remained with Bisdee until he received his ticket of leave in June 1835. He received his free pardon on 3 February 1836 and in December that year, sailed from Launceston on the <i>Henry</i> for Port Phillip. In 1840 he married Mary Watson and they had at least six children, most of them being born in the Belfast (Port Fairy) area.
<b>Death / Final record</b> It is likely that Topp died in Victoria in 1891.
<b>References</b>

<b>Name</b> TOWN, James		<b>AKA</b>
<b>Age</b> 33	<b>Trade / Calling</b> Ploughman	
<b>Offence / Sentence</b> Machine breaking. Transported for 7 years.		
<b>County</b> Oxfordshire		<b>Transport</b> Eliza
<b>Remarks</b> Married with six children (wife Martha a needlewoman).		
<b>Convict Conduct Record in VDL</b> No convictions recorded.		
<b>Narrative of life in VDL</b> Upon arrival, Town was assigned to G.T. Harrison of Antill Ponds and appears to have remained with him until he received his ticket of leave in 1835. He received a free pardon on 3 February 1836. He subsequently married Caroline Moore in the colony and remained on the island until at least 1842. Hobsbawm and Rudé believe he became an overseer on a property at Spring Bay, on the east coast.		
<b>Death / Final record</b> There is no record of Town in the colony after 1842, although it is possible he settled on the east coast.		
<b>References</b> Hobsbawm and Rudé, p. 277		

<b>Name</b> TOWNSEND, George		<b>AKA</b>
<b>Age</b> 26	<b>Trade / Calling</b> Ploughman	
<b>Offence / Sentence</b> Machine breaking. Transported for 14 years.		
<b>County</b> Sussex		<b>Transport</b> Eliza
<b>Remarks</b> Married with three children (wife Sarah).		
<b>Convict Conduct Record in VDL</b> May 26, 1834 - Drunkenness - Admonished. Nov 26, 1834 - Neglect of duty - Admonished Mar 6 1835 - Neglect and drunkenness - Fined one pound. Apr 1, 1835 - Drunkenness - Treadwheel for 48 hours and pay stopped Oct 12, 1835 - Neglect of duty - 30 lashes. Nov 31, 1835 - Gross neglect of duty - 12 months hard labour and to be dismissed from the Police.		
<b>Narrative of life in VDL</b> Upon arrival, Townsend was assigned to A Guy (or Guise), with whom he stayed for		



three years. In late 1834 he became a Territorial Police Officer but had an unsuccessful career. Three convictions of drunkenness and neglect of duty were followed by one for allowing a prisoner in his charge to work for money and to get drunk; and, later, of allowing another prisoner to go into a public house and then escape from custody. This last example of neglect of duty could not be ignored; Townsend lost his appointment and was himself sent to a Road Gang.

He received his free pardon on 3 August 1837.

**Death / Final record** There is no record of Townsend after he received his pardon in 1837 and it is assumed he left the colony.

#### References

<b>Name</b>	TRIGG(S), John	<b>AKA</b>	
<b>Age</b>	24	<b>Trade / Calling</b>	Bricklayer
<b>Offence / Sentence</b> Machine breaking. Transported for 14 years.			
<b>County</b>	Sussex	<b>Transport</b>	Eliza
<b>Remarks</b> Single			
<b>Convict Conduct Record in VDL</b> Jan 12, 1832 - Preferring a frivolous and vexatious complaint against his master - Reprimanded. Mar 15, 1832 - Disobedience of orders and insolence - Reprimanded.			
<b>Narrative of life in VDL</b> Upon arrival, Triggs was assigned to the Public Works, on the Loan Gang. In 1832 he was either assigned to William Gwyllym Walker of Bishopsbourne or was on extended loan to him and then in 1833, he worked for one of the Hentys. In February 1833, Henty returned Triggs to the Public Works on the grounds that he was insane. It is impossible to determine whether this was true because, apart from receiving his free pardon on 24 April 1837, there is no other record of him until his death in 1876.			
<b>Death / Final record</b> Died in Hobart Town in 1876.			
<b>References</b>			

<b>Name</b>	VENWELL, Richard	<b>AKA</b>	Vennell, Venville, Benwell.
<b>Age</b>	22	<b>Trade / Calling</b>	Ploughman
<b>Offence / Sentence</b> Machine breaking. Transported for 7 years.			
<b>County</b>	Gloucestershire	<b>Transport</b>	Eliza
<b>Remarks</b> Single			
<b>Convict Conduct Record in VDL</b> No convictions recorded.			
<b>Narrative of life in VDL</b> Upon arrival, Venwell was assigned to James Grant of Fingal and appears to have remained with him until he received his ticket of leave in 1835. He received his free pardon on 3 February 1836 and sailed to Port Phillip in 1838, where he married Eliza Brown in West Melbourne on 13 October 1840. Shortly thereafter, Venwell moved to Como Bay and managed a sheep run ("Ballark") for John Wallace, the nephew of James Grant. Later, he went to the gold fields and worked as a miner. Eventually, he moved with his			

family to Mt Egerton where he became a farmer.
<b>Death / Final record</b> Died in 1896 of old age and debility in Mt Egerton, Victoria.
<b>References</b> Family records of J Speirs, and also of B and J Venville.

<b>Name</b> VINEN, Thomas		<b>AKA</b> Vining, Viney
<b>Age</b> 21	<b>Trade / Calling</b> Ploughman	
<b>Offence / Sentence</b> Machine breaking. Transported for 7 years.		
<b>County</b> Wiltshire		<b>Transport</b> Eliza
<b>Remarks</b> Single. Two of Vinen's sisters (Harriet and Elizabeth) were married to fellow villagers who were also charged with machine breaking; one was convicted and sentenced to two months at hard labour and the other was acquitted.		
<b>Convict Conduct Record in VDL</b> No convictions recorded.		
<b>Narrative of life in VDL</b> Upon arrival Vinen was assigned to Josiah Spode, the Superintendent of Convicts, who had properties at Macquarie Plains. He appears to have remained working on one of Spode's properties until he received his ticket of leave in June 1835. He received a free pardon on 3 February 1836 and on 3 October 1836, married Mary Burrows in the same district. Burrows was a convict, who had her first child to Vinen three weeks after the wedding. All seven of their children were born in New Norfolk, where they settled.		
<b>Death / Final record</b> Although the date is unknown, Vinen died an old man in New Norfolk.		
<b>References</b>		

<b>Name</b> VIVASH, Robert		<b>AKA</b>
<b>Age</b> 23	<b>Trade / Calling</b> Brickmaker	
<b>Offence / Sentence</b> Machine breaking. Transported for 7 years.		
<b>County</b> Wiltshire		<b>Transport</b> Eliza
<b>Remarks</b> Single		
<b>Convict Conduct Record in VDL</b> Mar 3, 1834 - Larceny - Discharged. Feb 21, 1835 - Out at night - 24 lashes and to lose employment at the Brickfields (sentence suspended and returned to his duty).		
<b>Narrative of life in VDL</b> Upon arrival Vivash was assigned to the Brickworks in Hobart and remained there until he received his ticket of leave in 1835. He received his free pardon on 3 February 1836 and in June 1840 went to Port Phillip. He married a widow, Mary Ann Slocombe, in 1846 and, in 1854 was joined by two of his brothers, John and Isaac. With John, also a brickmaker, he established a very successful brickmaking business in Hawthorn.		
<b>Death / Final record</b> Vivash died of tuberculosis in Hawthorn, Victoria in 1865.		

<b>References</b>	
<b>Name</b> VOKIN(G)S, John	<b>AKA</b> Vauckins
<b>Age</b> 21	<b>Trade / Calling</b> Ploughman
<b>Offence / Sentence</b> Machine breaking. Transported for 7 years.	
<b>County</b> Wiltshire	<b>Transport</b> Eliza
<b>Remarks</b> Single	
<b>Convict Conduct Record in VDL</b> No convictions recorded.	
<b>Narrative of life in VDL</b> Upon arrival, Vokings was assigned to William Foord of Lake Dulverton and, apart from a period in 1832 which he spent on the property of George Lindley, he remained with Foord until he received his ticket of leave on 1 June 1835. He received his free pardon on 3 February 1836.	
<b>Death / Final record</b> There is no record of Vokings after he received his free pardon in 1836 and it is assumed he left the colony.	
<b>References</b>	

<b>Name</b> WADLEY, Thomas	<b>AKA</b>
<b>Age</b> 30	<b>Trade / Calling</b> Ploughman
<b>Offence / Sentence</b> Machine breaking. Transported for 7 years.	
<b>County</b> Oxfordshire	<b>Transport</b> Eliza
<b>Remarks</b> Single	
<b>Convict Conduct Record in VDL</b> Sept 28, 1831 - Drunk and disorderly - Admonished.	
<p><b>Narrative of life in VDL</b> Upon arrival, Wadley was assigned to Thomas Cookson Simpson JP of Macquarie River, although for a period later that year, he was working for a Mr Kirkby. He received a ticket of leave in 1835 and, shortly before he received a free pardon, applied to marry. He received a free pardon on 3 February 1836 and some time before 1842 (probably in late 1836 or early 1837), Wadley married Rebecca Bates; they had at least four children.</p> <p>Wadley went to Melbourne in 1851 - probably to work on the goldfields. By 1856, he had returned and was leasing 200 acres at Longford. By 1868, either he or a son was also leasing land at Reedy Marsh, near Deloraine. Rebecca's sister married William, his brother and a fellow machine breaker.</p>	
<b>Death / Final record</b> Died in Tasmania in 1869.	
<b>References</b> Frances Parsons , The Making of One Tasmanian, MS Hobart 1991.	

<b>Name</b> WADLEY, William	<b>AKA</b>
<b>Age</b> 22	<b>Trade / Calling</b> Ploughman
<b>Offence / Sentence</b> Machine breaking. Transported for 7 years.	
<b>County</b> Oxfordshire	<b>Transport</b> Eliza

<b>Remarks Single</b>
One prior conviction for assault.
<b>Convict Conduct Record in VDL Dec 30, 1833 - Absent without leave - Reprimanded.</b>
<p><b>Narrative of life in VDL</b> Upon arrival, Wadley was assigned to Henry Jellicoe of Campbell Town and he appears to have remained with him until he received his ticket of leave in 1835.</p> <p>He received a free pardon on 3 February 1836 and in 1837 married Sarah Bates, whose sister had married his elder brother Thomas. They had 12 children, the first of whom was born at Westbury.</p> <p>By 1856, Wadley was leasing land at Little Hampton and in 1858 moved to "The Hermitage", a property he leased in Cressy from the Cressy Company. By 1869 they were living in a house in the township of Bracknell, presumably because he had retired.</p>
<b>Death / Final record</b> Died in Tasmania in 1875 of dropsy.
<b>References</b> Additional information provided by Frances Parsons, Ibid.

<b>Name</b> WATERS, Charles		<b>AKA</b>
<b>Age 24</b>	<b>Trade / Calling</b> Ploughman	
<b>Offence / Sentence</b> Machine breaking. Transported for 7 years.		
<b>County</b> Wiltshire		<b>Transport</b> Eliza
<b>Remarks</b> Single Prior conviction for stealing a pair of trousers.		
<b>Convict Conduct Record in VDL</b> No convictions recorded.		
<b>Narrative of life in VDL</b> Upon arrival, Waters was assigned to the VDL Company and was still with the Company when he received his ticket of leave in July 1835. He remained with the Company as a paid servant until the end of the year, first at Woolnorth for two months, and then at Circular Head. He received his free pardon on 3 February 1836.		
<b>Death / Final record</b> There is no record of Waters after he received his free pardon in 1836 and it is assumed he left the colony.		
<b>References</b>		

<b>Name</b> WATTS, William		<b>AKA</b>
<b>Age 24</b>	<b>Trade / Calling</b> Sawyer	
<b>Offence / Sentence</b> Machine breaking and demanding money with menace. Transported for 7 years.		
<b>County</b> Hampshire		<b>Transport</b> Eliza
<b>Remarks</b> Single		
<b>Convict Conduct Record in VDL</b> Jan 9, 1832 - Disobedience - Admonished.		
<b>Narrative of life in VDL</b> Upon arrival, Watts was assigned to the Public Works Loan Gang and he appears to have spent most of his time on loan to a Mr G. Tumley or Turnley until his death in 1835. At the time he was		

charged with disobedience in 1832 however, he was working on the property of Edward Dumaesq, a former Surveyor-General and the first Commissioner for the Valuation of Lands Survey. His property was at Mount Ireh, on the Norfolk Plains
<b>Death / Final record</b> Died in Hobart Hospital on 11 February 1835.
<b>References</b>

<b>Name</b> WEAVING, Thomas		<b>AKA</b>
<b>Age</b> 30	<b>Trade / Calling</b> Ploughman	
<b>Offence / Sentence</b> Machine breaking. Transported for 7 years.		
<b>County</b> Gloucestershire	<b>Transport</b> Eliza	
<b>Remarks</b> Married with two children (wife on the parish).		
<b>Convict Conduct Record in VDL</b> May 1, 1832 - Insolence and disobedience - 25 lashes July 9, 1833 - Making false complaints about his rations - 25 lashes Aug 29, 1833 - Harboursing of two assigned convicts - Severely reprimanded Oct 12, 1833 - Idleness - 6 hours in stocks Oct 14, 1833 - Insubordination - 6 months imprisonment July 12, 1836 - Disobedience of orders - Admonished.		
<b>Narrative of life in VDL</b> Upon arrival, Weaving was assigned to Hugh Robertson of Macquarie River and appears to have remained with him until he received his free pardon in 1836.  The relationship was not a happy one, with Weaving displaying a rebellious streak. In addition to complaining about his rations, he also harboured two other escaped convicts and in 1833, the day after suffering 6 hours in the stocks for idleness, he was imprisoned for 6 months for insubordination. He received a free pardon on 3 February 1836, but a charge of disobedience was successfully made out against him on July 12 1836, for which he was admonished. Perhaps he had been charged before he left the assigned service of Robertson, and the charge had not been dealt with by the time he received his free pardon.		
<b>Death / Final record</b> There is no record of Weaving after his conviction in late 1836, and it is assumed he left the colony.		
<b>References</b>		

<b>Name</b> WEBB, George		<b>AKA</b>
<b>Age</b> 23	<b>Trade / Calling</b> Ploughman	
<b>Offence / Sentence</b> Rioting and breaking iron gates. Transported for life.		
<b>County</b> Hampshire	<b>Transport</b> Eliza	
<b>Remarks</b> Married with two children (wife Jane on the parish). Webb produced a written reference from his former employer to the colonial authorities, stating that he had been ten years in the service of the same employer.		
<b>Convict Conduct Record in VDL</b> Aug 22, 1834 - Taking a prisoner in his custody into a public house- 2 days		

solitary confinement on b&w.

**Narrative of life in VDL** Upon arrival, Webb was assigned to Anthony Fenn Kemp, a former New South Wales Corps officer and commandant of Port Dalrymple, of Mount Vernon (Kempton). He remained with Kemp until his appointment to the Territorial Police, which occurred some time in 1834. He received his conditional pardon on April 5, 1838.

**Death / Final record** There is no record of Webb after his conditional pardon was granted in 1838 and it is assumed he left the colony.

**References** CON 31/46

<b>Name</b>	WEBB, John	<b>AKA</b>	
<b>Age</b> 34	<b>Trade / Calling</b> Ploughman		
<b>Offence / Sentence</b> Machine breaking. Transported for 7 years.			
<b>County</b> Essex		<b>Transport</b> Eliza	
<b>Remarks</b> Married (wife Elizabeth on the parish).			
<b>Convict Conduct Record in VDL</b> No convictions recorded.			
<b>Narrative of life in VDL</b> Upon arrival, Webb was assigned to Captain William Ashburner JP (formerly of the East India Company Service and later a Legislative Councillor) of Westbury, but he was killed in an accident within a year.			
<b>Death / Final record</b> Died in Van Diemen's Land in 1832.			
<b>References</b>			

<b>Name</b>	WEBB. William	<b>AKA</b>	
<b>Age</b> 21	<b>Trade / Calling</b> Tailor		
<b>Offence / Sentence</b> Machine breaking. Transported for 7 years.			
<b>County</b> Hampshire		<b>Transport</b> Eliza	
<b>Remarks</b> Single			
<p><b>Convict Conduct Record in VDL</b> June 30, 1832- Absent from muster and church - Reprimanded.</p> <p>Oct 24, 1832 – Absent without permission - Reprimanded.</p> <p>Jan 30, 1833 - Found in a public house - Treadwheel for 10 days and returned to PW and assigned to the interior.</p> <p>Apr 8, 1833 - Conveying spirits to one of the Hulk Chain Gang - 50 lashes</p> <p>Dec 5, 1834 - Drunk - Treadwheel for 10 days and assignment to interior carried into effect. Constitution Hill Road Party for 6 months on probation vide Lieut. Gov. Decision, 13 Dec 1834.</p>			
<b>Narrative of life in VDL</b> Upon arrival Webb was assigned to Simon Fraser of Liverpool but, after some convictions for alcohol-related offences, he was returned to the Public Works with a recommendation that he be assigned to the interior. The re-assignment did not immediately take place and he appears to have been assigned to the Public Works for a period. His record did not improve; he was convicted for smuggling drink to a fellow			

convict in a Road Gang and was later found drunk. He was then sent to the Constitution Hill Road Party and in 1835 received a ticket of leave. He received a free pardon on 3 February 1836.

Although the evidence is not without some doubt, it is most likely that Webb married Hannah Hallam, a free woman, at Glenorchy in 1838, where he was employed as a farm overseer. Hannah had eight children before she died in a cart accident in 1851 at Old Beach. Webb then moved to Bothwell and in 1858 married Louisa Jones, who bore him another ten children. At the time of his re-marriage, he was a small farmer. By 1875, he was living at Oakwood in Pontville, a property previously owned by William Dove, another machine breaker. He held properties in both the Bothwell and Bagdad area, and had a small holding at Picton, halfway between the two properties for use when travelling stock between them.

He retired to Cornelian Hill at Bagdad.

There is some evidence to suggest that he worked in partnership with with one of his sons, who moved to Melbourne and set up as a stock exporter to the island. They were reputed, in the 1870s, to have broken a local monopoly and helped supply cheap meat to the island.

**Death / Final record** Webb probably died at Bagdad in 1885.

**References** Information provided by by Kathy Duncombe, Bruny Island.

<b>Name</b>	<b>WEEKS,</b> <b>John</b>	<b>AKA</b>	<b>George Weeks</b>
<b>Age</b> 28	<b>Trade / Calling</b> Farm labourer		
<b>Offence / Sentence</b> Rioting and breaking iron gates. Transported for life.			
<b>County</b> Hampshire (although he was born in Wiltshire).		<b>Transport</b> Eliza	
<b>Remarks</b> Married with five children (wife Susanna).			
<b>Convict Conduct Record in VDL</b> No convictions recorded, although in September 1834 he was put under Turnkey at the Hobart Town Gaol for an indeterminate period.			
<b>Narrative of life in VDL</b> Upon arrival, Weeks was assigned to the Public Works and remained with the department until he received a conditional pardon on 13 June 1837. This was converted into a full pardon in November 1837. On 31 May 1845, he married Margaret McIlmann at Hobart. Rudé and Hobsbawm believe that he remained in the colony as a farmer.			
<b>Death / Final record</b> Although there is no record of his death, it is likely that that Weeks remained in the colony.			
<b>References</b> Hobsbawm and Rudé, p. 277.			

Name	WELLS, Thomas	AKA
Age 32	Trade / Calling Ploughman	
Offence / Sentence Machine breaking and demanding money with menaces. Transported for 7 years.		
County Wiltshire	Transport Eliza	
Remarks Single		

<b>Convict Conduct Record in VDL</b> No convictions recorded.
<b>Narrative of life in VDL</b> Upon arrival, Wells was assigned to John Leake JP of 'Rosedale' at Macquarie River and, apart from a short period in 1832, remained with him until he received his ticket of leave in July 1835. Wells received a free pardon on 3 February 1836.
<b>Death / Final record</b> Wells remained in the colony until at least 1848, although his ultimate fate is unknown.
<b>References</b> <i>ADB</i>

<b>Name</b> WELSH, George	<b>AKA</b>
<b>Age</b> 34	<b>Trade / Calling</b> Farm labourer
<b>Offence / Sentence</b> Machine breaking. Transported for 14 years.	
<b>County</b> Sussex	<b>Transport</b> Eliza
<b>Remarks</b> Married with six children (wife Mary on the parish).	
<b>Convict Conduct Record in VDL</b> No convictions recorded.	
<b>Narrative of life in VDL</b> Upon arrival, Welsh was assigned to J.H. Paterson, and appears to have remained with him until he received his free pardon on 24 April 1837. Welsh had written to his wife Mary urging her to come out to Van Diemen's Land with their children in 1832. Their parish agreed to pay the cost of their passage but it is not known whether they ever made the voyage.	
<b>Death / Final record</b> There is no record of Welsh after he received his free pardon in 1837 and it is assumed he left the colony.	
<b>References</b>	

<b>Name</b> WHEELER, James	<b>AKA</b>
<b>Age</b> 26	<b>Trade / Calling</b> Ploughman
<b>Offence / Sentence</b> Rioting and machine breaking. Transported for 7 years.	
<b>County</b> Wiltshire	<b>Transport</b> Eliza
<b>Remarks</b> Single	
<b>Convict Conduct Record in VDL</b> No convictions recorded.	
<b>Narrative of life in VDL</b> Upon arrival, Wheeler was assigned to a T Dolan, and appears to have remained with him until he received his ticket of leave in October 1835. He received a free pardon on 3 February 1836.	
<b>Death / Final record</b> Wheeler was living in Spring Bay in 1842 and Campbell Town in 1843. There are no references to him after this date.	
<b>References</b>	

<b>Name</b> WHITCHER, William	<b>AKA</b> Witcher
<b>Age</b> 26	<b>Trade / Calling</b> Wheelwright



<b>Offence / Sentence</b> Rioting and machine breaking. Transported for 7 years.	
<b>County</b> Hampshire	<b>Transport</b> Eliza
<b>Remarks</b> Single. One previous conviction for an unknown offence.	
<b>Convict Conduct Record in VDL</b> Feb 11, 1833 - Out of hours- reprimanded. Apr 15, 1834 - Drunkenness - ordered to sleep in the prisoners' barracks Nov 24, 1834 - Absent from Prisoners Barracks while under sentence - Confined for a further three Saturdays. Mar 12, 1836 - Failing to attend muster and Church - Admonished.	
<b>Narrative of life in VDL</b> Upon arrival, Whitcher was assigned to the Public Works and remained with the Department until he received his ticket of leave in August 1835. He received a free pardon in November 1837.	
<b>Death / Final record</b> There is no record of Whitcher after he received his free pardon in 1837 and it is assumed he left the colony thereafter.	
<b>References</b>	

<b>Name</b>	WHITE, Edmund	<b>AKA</b>	
<b>Age</b> 21	<b>Trade / Calling</b> Blacksmith		
<b>Offence / Sentence</b> Machine breaking. Transported for 7 years.			
<b>County</b> Wiltshire	<b>Transport</b> Eliza		
<b>Remarks</b> Single			
<b>Convict Conduct Record in VDL</b> No conviction recorded.			
<b>Narrative of life in VDL</b> Upon arrival, White was assigned to the 20,000 acre property 'Anstey Park' of Thomas Anstey JP at Oatlands and he remained with Anstey until he received his ticket of leave in July 1835. The following month, he received approval to marry Maria Smith, a free woman. They eventually had six children. He received his free pardon on 3 February 1836. White remained in the Oatlands area, working as a blacksmith. He soon acquired a small parcel of land in the town and, from 1846 to 1849, was licensee of the town's City Hotel and, from 1864 to 1865, the White Horse Inn.			
<b>Death / Final record</b> Died in Oatlands on 17 April 1882.			
<b>References</b>			

<b>Name</b>	WHITEBREAD, John	<b>AKA</b>	White
<b>Age</b> 29	<b>Trade / Calling</b> Ploughman		
<b>Offence / Sentence</b> Wrecking buildings and machine breaking. Transported for 7 years.			
<b>County</b> Hampshire	<b>Transport</b> Eliza		
<b>Remarks</b> Single One prior conviction for stealing wood.			

**Convict Conduct Record in VDL** June 14, 1832 - Insolence and swearing - admonished.

May 27, 1833 - Disobedience of orders - 75 lashes

Aug 23, 1833 - Refusing to work - admonished

Sep 9, 1834 - Drunk - 3 days solitary.

Feb 1, 1836 - Indecent exposure in a public street - Cell on b&w for 12 days

**Narrative of life in VDL** Upon arrival, Whitebread was assigned to George Thomson and worked on one of his farms at Plenty or at the Shannon. Thomson died in 1833, and Whitebread was assigned to his widow for the balance of his assignment period. Presumably because of his record of disobedience, Whitebread did not receive a ticket of leave before he received his free pardon on 3 February 1836, which became effective only after he had completed his last short sentence for indecent exposure.

**Death / Final record** There is no record of Whitebread after his 12 day sentence imposed in February 1836, and it is assumed he left the colony thereafter.

#### References

<b>Name</b> W(H)ITCHELL, William		<b>AKA</b>
<b>Age</b> 41	<b>Trade / Calling</b> Gardener (although Wyatt records him as a labourer).	
<b>Offence / Sentence</b> Machine breaking. Transported for 7 years.		
<b>County</b> Gloucestershire		<b>Transport</b> Eliza
<b>Remarks</b>		
<b>Convict Conduct Record in VDL</b>		
<b>Narrative of life in VDL</b> Upon arrival, Whitchell was assigned to John Kerr JP of New Norfolk and appears to have remained with him until at least the date that he received his ticket of leave in 1835. He received a free pardon on 3 February 1836.		
<b>Death / Final record</b> There is no record of Whitchell after he received his free pardon in 1836 and it is assumed he left the colony thereafter.		
<b>References</b> I Wyatt, <i>Transportees From Gloucester</i> .		

<b>Name</b> WILD(E) John		<b>AKA</b>
<b>Age</b> 20	<b>Trade / Calling</b> Ploughman	
<b>Offence / Sentence</b> Machine breaking. Transported for 7 years.		
<b>County</b> Wiltshire		<b>Transport</b> Eliza
<b>Remarks</b> Single		
<b>Convict Conduct Record in VDL</b> No convictions recorded.		
<b>Narrative of life in VDL</b> Upon arrival, Wilde was assigned to John Jones of Upper Jordan and remained with him until he received his ticket of leave in June 1835. He received his free pardon on 3 February 1836.		
<b>Death / Final record</b> There is no record of Wilde after he received his free pardon in 1836 and it is assumed he		

left the colony thereafter.
<b>References</b>

<b>Name</b> WILLOUGHBY, Robert		<b>AKA</b>
<b>Age</b> 30	<b>Trade / Calling</b> Carpenter/ joiner	
<b>Offence / Sentence</b> Machine breaking. Transported for 7 years.		
<b>County</b> Wiltshire		<b>Transport</b> Eliza
<b>Remarks</b> Married with three children. (wife Mary). Two previous convictions for poaching and stealing a fishing net.		
<b>Convict Conduct Record in VDL</b> Dec 10, 1832 - In a public house - reprimanded. Dec 31, 1833 - Drunk - reprimanded.		
<b>Narrative of life in VDL</b> Upon arrival, Willoughby was assigned to the Public Works and remained with the Department until he received a ticket of leave in 1835. He received a free pardon on 3 February 1836 and returned to England. When his wife Mary died in 1858, he remarried.		
<b>Death / Final record</b> Died in England in 1871		
<b>References</b>		

<b>Name</b> YOUNG, John		<b>AKA</b> Sutton
<b>Age</b> 22	<b>Trade / Calling</b> Ploughman, groom, house servant.	
<b>Offence / Sentence</b> Machine breaking. Transported for 7 years.		
<b>County</b> Wiltshire	<b>Transport</b> Eliza	
<b>Remarks</b> Married (wife Mary).		
<b>Convict Conduct Record in VDL</b> June 26, 1832 - Drunk - treadwheel for 7 days.		
<b>Narrative of life in VDL</b> Upon arrival, Young was assigned to Mrs Collins of Macquarie River but by the following year was working for William Lawrence of Lake River, with whom he remained until he received his ticket of leave in 1835. He did not receive a free pardon until 25 May, 1837.		
<b>Death / Final record</b> There is no record of Young after he received his free pardon in 1837 and it is assumed he left the colony thereafter.		
<b>References</b>		

Name		AKA
Age	Trade / Calling	
Offence / Sentence		
County		Transport
Remarks		
Convict Conduct Record in VDL		

<b>Narrative of life in VDL</b>
<b>Death / Final record</b>
<b>References</b>

## **PART 2**

### ***PROTEUS***


<b>Name</b>	ACRES, William	<b>AKA</b>	Akers
<b>Age</b>	23	<b>Trade / Calling</b>	Farm Labourer. Can milk, shear sheep
<b>Offence / Sentence</b> Machine Breaking. In common with the other Essex men on the <i>Proteus</i> , Acres was transported for 7 years.			
<b>County</b> Essex		<b>Transport</b> Proteus	
<b>Remarks</b> Acres claimed to be unmarried, but also claimed to have two daughters (Martha and Susan). In all probability, he was a widower. Acres was unusually tall for a convict, being 5'11 3/4" in height.			
<b>Convict Conduct Record in VDL</b> Nov.14, 1831 Drunk in Prisoners Barracks on Saturday night. Treadwheel for 10 days. Nov 28, 1831 Absent from prisoners barracks without consent - Treadwheel for 10 days. Jan 19, 1832 Repeated neglect of duty - 50 lashes.			
<b>Narrative of life in VDL</b> Acres was first assigned to a James Porter/Painter. He appears to have had difficulty at first in acclimatizing to the discipline of the convict system and engaged in typical modes of convict resistance until he eventually suffered the lash in early 1832. Thereafter, he appears to have been a model prisoner and accumulated no more offences before his free pardon was granted on 3 February 1836.			
<b>Death / Final record</b> There is no record of Acres after he received his free pardon in 1836, and it is assumed he left the colony.			
<b>References</b>			

<b>Name</b>	AGGERS, William	<b>AKA</b>	Aggas
<b>Age</b>	26	<b>Trade / Calling</b>	Ploughman
<b>Offence / Sentence</b> 7 years			
<b>County</b> Norfolk		<b>Transport</b> Proteus	

<b>Remarks Single.</b>
Previous conviction for poaching.
<b>Convict Conduct Record in VDL</b> No convictions recorded.
<b>Narrative of life in VDL</b> Upon arrival, Aggers was assigned to Thomas Lascelles JP and former police magistrate of New Norfolk and appears to have remained with him until he received his ticket of leave in 1835. He received a free pardon on 3 February 1836. In 1853, he married Mary Smith Ming and they had a number of children, including a girl named Patience, although the actual number is unknown.
<b>Death / Final record</b> Aggers died in Tasmania in 1875
<b>References</b> ADB

<b>Name</b> ANNETTS, John		<b>AKA</b> Annots, Annells
<b>Age</b> 38	<b>Trade / Calling</b> Wheelwright, Carpenter, Top sawyer	
<b>Offence / Sentence</b> Three charges of robbery, one charge of destroying two hay making machines. Sentenced to death, but commuted to transportation for 7 years		
<b>County</b> Hampshire		<b>Transport</b> Proteus
<b>Remarks</b> Married (wife Mary Ann, a mantua lace maker) with six children.		
<b>Convict Conduct Record in VDL</b> No convictions recorded.		
<b>Narrative of life in VDL</b> Upon arrival, Annetts was assigned to the Loan Gang, but was in hospital within a month.		
<b>Death / Final record</b> Died on 21 September 1831 at Hobart Town.		
<b>References</b> .		

Name		ATKINS, Stephen	AKA
Age 27		Trade / Calling Farm labourer, paper maker.	
Offence / Sentence Destruction of a paper making machine. Sentenced to death, commuted to transportation for 7 years.			
County Buckinghamshire		Transport Proteus	
Remarks Married (wife Sophia a paper maker) with one child (Elizabeth).			
Convict Conduct Record in VDL No convictions recorded			
Narrative of life in VDL Upon arrival, Atkins was assigned to John Sinclair. He appears to have worked his entire ticket on Sinclair's property without attracting a single misdemeanour. He received his free pardon on 3 February 1836 and left Tasmania for Port Phillip on the <i>Adelaide</i> , on 3 May 1836. It would appear that Atkins must have been employed as a stock overseer for the voyages because he made three more trips across Bass Strait that year, always with a cargo of sheep or other livestock. On the final trip he sailed with Charles Wedge, a nephew of J.H. Wedge of the Port Phillip Association. There are no further records of him returning to or leaving the island again, and it is most likely that he settled in Victoria, probably as a			

worker on the Wedge property.
<b>Death / Final record</b> A Steven Atkins of Buckinghamshire (aged 67) died in Victoria in 1879. Although the ages are different, this is most likely to be Stephen Atkins.
<b>References</b> Outward Bound Ship Returns, AOT.

Name		BAKER, James	AKA
Age 42		Trade / Calling Farm Labourer/ ploughman	
Offence / Sentence Obtaining fifteen shillings by threats. Death recorded, commuted to transportation for fourteen years.			
County Wiltshire		Transport Proteus	
Remarks Married (wife Elizabeth) with four children. One brother, Robert, was transported to New South Wales on the <i>Eleanor</i> for rioting. Another brother, Elijah, was convicted of machine breaking but only received a 12 month sentence. Newspaper reports of the time stated that Robert and James were the leaders of the riots in their district, particularly James - "...but for him there would have been no riots in S(h)elbourne".			
Convict Conduct Record in VDL No convictions recorded			
Narrative of life in VDL Upon arrival, Baker was assigned to John Lucas at Browns River and appears to have remained working on his property until at least 1835. He received his conditional pardon on 5 April 1838 and a free pardon on 9 September 1840. On 8 April 1836, approval was given for his wife and family to be sent out to Van Diemen's Land. In view of the fact that these kinds of consents were not given unless the Lieutenant Governor was satisfied that the applicant could support the family, it is most likely that Baker was still employed as a trusted servant of John Lucas. His family did not come out to the colony, though.			
Death / Final record Baker died as a pauper in Tasmania in 1873.			
References CON 54/1, p.5. Information supplied by John Baker.			

<b>Name</b> BARNES, Francis		<b>AKA</b>
<b>Age 30</b>	<b>Trade / Calling</b> Shepherd (can shear, draw lambs)	
<b>Offence / Sentence</b> Machine breaking. Transported for 7 years		
<b>County</b> Norfolk		<b>Transport</b> Proteus
<b>Remarks</b> Married (wife Elizabeth) with three children. Barnes had one conviction in England for stealing a donkey.		
<b>Convict Conduct Record in VDL</b> No convictions recorded.		
<b>Narrative of life in VDL</b> Upon arrival, Barnes was assigned to Joseph Archer JP of Norfolk Plains and he appears to have remained with Archer until at least when he received his ticket of leave in 1835. He received his free pardon in April 1838.		
<b>Death / Final record</b> There is no record of Barnes in the colony after he received his free pardon in 1838.		
<b>References</b> ADB		



<b>Name</b> BARTON, David		<b>AKA</b>
<b>Age</b> 23	<b>Trade / Calling</b> Farm Labourer	
<b>Offence / Sentence</b> Machine breaking (at a paper mill in Chepping Wycombe). Death recorded, commuted to transportation for seven years.		
<b>County</b> Buckinghamshire	<b>Transport</b> Proteus	
<b>Remarks</b> Married (Ann) with one child. Barton had one prior conviction for stealing wood, for which he had received a sentence of two months imprisonment.		
<b>Convict Conduct Record in VDL</b> 14 January 1834 - Insubordination to Mrs Wade, his mistress - original sentence of transportation extended for twelve months.		
<b>Narrative of life in VDL</b> Upon arrival, Barton was assigned to a Mrs Wade, possibly the widow of John Wade of Pitt Water. Muster records indicate he stayed with her until at least 1835. He received a conditional pardon in April 1838.		
<b>Death / Final record</b> Barton died in Tasmania in 1885.		
<b>References</b>		

<b>Name</b> BARTON, James		<b>AKA</b>
<b>Age</b> 28	<b>Trade / Calling</b> Labourer, wire worker	
<b>Offence / Sentence</b> Machine breaking (at a paper mill at Chepping Wycombe). Sentence of death recorded, commuted to 7 years transportation.		
<b>County</b> Buckinghamshire		<b>Transport</b> Proteus
<b>Remarks</b> Married (wife Jane, a seamstress) with two children. Barton was one of the minor leaders in the riots; he had resisted arrest and unsuccessfully attempted to rally the mob to rescue him from the Yeomanry.		
<b>Convict Conduct Record in VDL</b> No convictions recorded		
<b>Narrative of life in VDL</b> Upon arrival, Barton was assigned to Walter Davidson JP in the south of the island and stayed with him until at least 1833. Receiving his ticket of leave in 1835, he was soon in the employ of John Tongs his fellow machine breaker in the north of the island. Tongs was a blacksmith and Barton's experience as a wire worker would have been of benefit to him. By 1837 he had received a ticket of leave and was working as a ship's steward on the <i>William</i> , sailing between the north of the island and Sydney. He received a free pardon in April 1838 and was back with his family in Chepping Wycombe by the time of the June 1841 census. By then, he had a 10 month old son, so it is likely he arrived back in England by mid 1839. He brought no money to the colony with him, so it is most likely that he worked his passage home as a crew member.		
<b>Death / Final record</b> Barton returned to his family in England shortly after receiving his pardon in 1838.		
<b>References</b> G. Sharman, <i>MBN</i> Vol 2, No 3, 1995.		

<b>Name</b>	BLIZZARD, Thomas	<b>AKA</b>
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Age 30	Trade / Calling Ploughman
Offence / Sentence Machine-breaking (paper machine). Sentence of death, commuted to transportation for life.	
County Buckinghamshire	Transport Proteus
<p><b>Remarks</b> Blizzard was one of the folk heroes of the paper mill riots in Chepping Wycombe, taking a leading role along with the much older John Sarney, whose sentence of death was also commuted to transportation for life. He was married (wife Mary - on the parish) with two children. He had been in trouble with the law once before, having been charged with stealing some clothes, but was acquitted on that occasion.</p>	
<p><b>Convict Conduct Record in VDL 1834</b> - Convicted of disobedience of orders and gross insubordination of his mistress - sentenced to 2 months imprisonment at hard labour and then sent to a road gang.</p>	
<p><b>Narrative of life in VDL</b> Upon arrival, Blizzard was assigned to David Reynolds, a district chief constable, of Broad Marsh. It would appear that it was Mrs Reynolds to whom he was insubordinate. In 1835, he was assigned to a Mr McRa(e), which must have been after he completed a stint on the road gang. He received a conditional pardon on 6 April 1838.</p> <p>Mary Blizzard had three more children after Joseph was transported, none of whom lived through their infancy. In 1841 goods were seized to the value of two pounds and twelve shillings from her for unpaid rent. Finally, in 1847, Mary married Thomas Nash, a widower paper maker.</p>	
<p><b>Death / Final record</b> Blizzard died in Van Diemen's Land in 1843. In 1847, when Mary Blizzard remarried in England, she described herself as a widow, although this does not conclusively prove that she knew Thomas was dead.</p>	
References	

Name		BLOOMFIELD, William	AKA
Age 33		Trade / Calling Ploughman	
Offence / Sentence 7 years.			
County Essex		Transport Proteus	
Remarks Married (wife Lucy on the parish) with four children. Had one previous conviction for stealing rabbits.			
Convict Conduct Record in VDL Feb. 8, 1833- Neglect of duty- 25 lashes. Apr 13, 1833- Disobedience- Reprimanded. Aug.13, 1834- Insolence- 36 lashes.			
Narrative of life in VDL Upon arrival, Bloomfield was assigned to the property of George Hobler, a well-known pastoralist of Paterson's Plains and appears to have stayed with him until he received his ticket of leave, and perhaps even afterwards, until he received his freedom on 3 February 1836. He married Mary Reynolds in 1838 and left the colony with her in 1845.			
Death / Final record Bloomfield died in South Australia in 1875.			
ReferencesADB			

Name	BOWLES,	AKA	Bowles
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Thomas	
Age 34	Trade / Calling Farm labourer and paper maker.
Offence / Sentence Machine breaking (paper machines). Sentenced to death, commuted to transportation for seven years.	
County Buckinghamshire	Transport Proteus.
Remarks Bowles was one of the more active rioters in the Chepping Wycombe Riots until he was wounded. He was married (wife Mary a lace maker) with one child.	
Convict Conduct Record in VDL 1835- Drunk and disorderly in the streets of Ross - 48 hours in a solitary cell on bread and water.	
Narrative of life in VDL Upon arrival, Bowles was assigned to John Cassidy (formerly an officer in the 46 <sup>th</sup> and 73 <sup>rd</sup> Regiments) of Richmond and appears to have stayed with him until at least 1835. He received his free pardon on 3 February 1836. He then went to work in the north of the island. In 1840, he was charged with riding a cart within 5 miles of the town of Launceston (apparently this was not permitted; drivers were required to walk with the team when in or near the town) and was fined ten shillings. The nature of the offence suggests that he was working at the time as a carrier or perhaps a farm labourer. More seriously, in 1845, he was tried on a charge of "feloniously stealing a piece of wood" but the outcome of the trial is unknown, or whether it even proceeded. Bowles spent the balance of his life as a farm labourer in the north of the island.	
Death / Final record Bowles died in Tasmania in 1872.	
References	

Name	BRIANT, Joseph	AKA	Bryant, Joseph
Age 23	Trade / Calling Farm labourer		
Offence / Sentence Machine breaking (paper mills). Sentenced to death, commuted to transportation for 7 years.			
County Buckinghamshire.		Transport Proteus	
Remarks Briant was a widower, with one child. His wife Jane was buried on 16 May 1826 and his daughter Jane Elizabeth was baptised eleven days later, suggesting that his wife died in childbirth. He had no prior convictions. His father and a cousin (both named William) accompanied him on the <i>Proteus</i> .			
Convict Conduct Record in VDL 1831 - Feloniously slaughtering sheep- discharged for lack of evidence. 1835- Drunk and out after hours - admonished.			
Narrative of life in VDL Upon arrival, Briant was assigned to David Lord's property at York Plains – one of a number that he owned or leased in the colony. Four months later it was Lord who brought the complaint that Briant had slaughtered one of his sheep. The charge was found not proved for want of evidence, but the fact that Lord brought such a weak complaint suggests that he and Briant did not get on. He appears to have only spent a year with Lord and by the time of the 1833 muster, was in hospital - whether as a patient or servant is unclear. In 1835, he was assigned to Mr Lambwick of Learmouth. The same year, Lambwick brought him before a magistrate for being drunk and out after hours, for which he was merely admonished. He was one of the few <i>Proteus</i> men to receive his free pardon on 3 February 1836.			

Briant continued to work, probably as a farm labourer, in Van Diemen's Land until 1848, when he left Launceston on the Port Philip bound <i>Swan</i> .
<b>Death / Final record</b> Died in Victoria in 1858.
<b>References</b> <i>ADB</i>

<b>Name</b> BRIANT, William		<b>AKA</b> BRYANT, O'BRIANT, Larry
<b>Age</b> 47	<b>Trade / Calling</b> Labourer	
<b>Offence / Sentence</b> Machine breaking. Sentenced to death, commuted to transportation for seven years.		
<b>County</b> Buckinghamshire.		<b>Transport</b> Proteus
<b>Remarks</b> Briant was married (wife Anne, a lacemaker) with six children. He had previously served two months imprisonment in England for poaching, and had also been charged twice with stealing wood, but had been discharged on both occasions. He had been an active rioter in the Chepping Wycombe riots until shot in the arm.		
<b>Convict Conduct Record in VDL</b> (x) 1833- On complaint of Mr Bonney, that he was drunk. Sentenced to two hours in the stocks.		
<b>Narrative of life in VDL</b> Upon arrival, Briant was assigned to James/Joseph Bonney. and stayed with him until at least 1835, when he received his ticket of leave. The only blot was in 1833, when he was found drunk and was sentenced to two hours in the stocks. He received his free pardon in 3 February 1836. At least until 1842, he worked in the colony, presumably as a farm labourer.		
<b>Death / Final record</b> Briant was last recorded in a census in Van Diemen's Land in 1842. There is no record of his death in the colony, so it is most likely that he went to one of the mainland colonies some time after 1842.		
<b>References</b>		

<b>Name</b> BRIANT, William		<b>AKA</b>
<b>Age</b> 23	<b>Trade / Calling</b> Farm labourer /paper maker.	
<b>Offence / Sentence</b> Machine breaking (in a paper mill). Sentenced to death, commuted to transportation for seven years.		
<b>County</b> Buckinghamshire.	<b>Transport</b> Proteus	
<b>Remarks</b> Widower with one child		
<b>Convict Conduct Record in VDL</b> No convictions recorded		
<b>Narrative of life in VDL</b> Upon arrival, Briant was assigned to Major Edward Abbott who had properties at Avoca and Old Beach. By 1832, he was working for James Atkins and appears to have stayed with him at least until he received his ticket of leave in 1835. He received a free pardon on 3 February 1836. In 1844 he married Charlotte Friend at Longford.		
<b>Death / Final record</b> Died in Tasmania in 1871.		
<b>References</b>		

<b>Name</b>	BURGESS, William	<b>AKA</b>	
<b>Age 25</b>	<b>Trade / Calling</b> Ploughman, Groom		
<b>Offence / Sentence</b> Unlawful assembly, robbery. Sentenced to death but commuted to transportation for 7 years.			
<b>County</b> Hampshire		<b>Transport</b> Proteus	
<b>Remarks</b> Married (wife Elizabeth) with two children.			
<b>Convict Conduct Record in VDL</b> 9 April 1830 - Absenting himself without authority - 48 hours solitary confinement on bread and water.			
<b>Narrative of life in VDL</b> Upon arrival, Burgess was assigned to William Sharland Senior of New Norfolk and spent his entire period as a convict with him. Burgess was granted a ticket of leave on 29 September 1835 and a free pardon on 3 February 1836. On 13 July 1839, he was convicted at Hobart Town of stealing a pair of stays, two shirts and a cap the property of Thomas Fowler. He was sentenced to 7 years transportation, two of which were spent at Port Arthur. He received his second ticket of leave on 25 August 1843 and a conditional pardon on 25 February 1846.			
<b>Death / Final record</b> There is no record of Burgess in the colony after he received his second pardon in 1846 and he probably left the colony for the Victorian goldfields.			
<b>References</b>			

<b>Name</b>	BUTLER, John	<b>AKA</b>	
<b>Age 21</b>	<b>Trade / Calling</b> Ploughman		
<b>Offence / Sentence</b> Machine breaking ( in a paper mill). Sentenced to death but commuted to transportation for seven years.			
<b>County</b> Buckinghamshire.		<b>Transport</b> Proteus	
<b>Remarks</b> Single			
<b>Convict Conduct Record in VDL</b> Jan 24, 1832- Female Orphan School - Disobedience of Orders - six days on treadmill. ? 1837 – Drunk – Fined 5/-.			
<b>Narrative of life in VDL</b> Upon arrival, Butler was originally assigned to Major Donald McLeod of Breadalbane, but by early 1832 he was working at the Female Orphan School. It is interesting to note that another Buckinghamshire man, William Butler, was working at the School at the same time. The latter was not a father or uncle of John Butler, but the fact that they were involved in a riot at the same paper mill in Chepping Wycombe, even though they were from different villages, suggests that they were related - probably as cousins. From 1832 until he received his ticket of leave in August 1835, he was assigned to Benjamin Horne JP. He received his free pardon on 3 February 1836 and was not heard of again until 1837, when he was convicted for being drunk and was fined five shillings. He does not appear to have married and probably continued to work on farms in the north until his death by accident, the nature of which suggests that he was still working on a farm at			

the time.
<b>Death / Final record</b> Died in 1858 - accidentally killed by falling from a loaded dray in the village of Morvern (Evandale), the wheel passing over his body.
<b>References</b>

<b>Name</b> BUTLER, William		<b>AKA</b>
<b>Age</b> 51	<b>Trade / Calling</b> Farm labourer	
<b>Offence / Sentence</b> Machine breaking (paper mill). Sentenced to death, commuted to transportation for seven years.		
<b>County</b> Buckinghamshire.		<b>Transport</b> Proteus
<b>Remarks</b> Married (wife Sarah a lace maker) with one child. Butler was somewhat better off than the average Buckinghamshire rioter; he was a freeholder occupying his own house at the time of the riots. Even so, he still only managed to bring thirty shillings with him on the Proteus.		
<b>Convict Conduct Record in VDL</b> Absent from the Orphan School- 25 lashes and returned to service. 1834- Suspicion of carrying spirits to the servants at the Orphan School - Spring Hill Road Party for six months.		
<b>Narrative of life in VDL</b> Upon arrival, Butler was assigned to Joseph Atkin, but by 1832 he was working at the Female Orphan School, where he stayed until 1834. In that year, he was suspected of smuggling spirits into the other assigned convicts at the school and after serving six months on the road party as punishment he was next recorded in a muster as being assigned to the Public Works - probably in another works gang. Notwithstanding this short prison sentence, he received his free pardon on 3 February 1836.		
<b>Death / Final record</b> Died in Hobart 1860.		
<b>References</b> CON 13/4-5, CO 280/36, CSO 1/539		

<b>Name</b> CATCHPOLE, William		<b>AKA</b>
<b>Age</b> 40	<b>Trade / Calling</b> Ploughman	
<b>Offence / Sentence</b> Machine breaking. Transported for seven years.		
<b>County</b> Norfolk		<b>Transport</b> Proteus
<b>Remarks</b> Married (wife Margaret) with three children.		
<b>Convict Conduct Record in VDL</b> March 13, 1834- Absconding and insubordination- 2 years extension to original sentence and returned to Government service.		
<b>Narrative of life in VDL</b> Upon arrival, Catchpole was assigned to Major Thomas Lord, who was commandant of Maria Island. It is likely that he worked on Lord's large landholdings at Triabunna, however. After the 2 year extension to his sentence in 1834, he was returned to Government service and did not receive his certificate of freedom until April 1838. He may have married a woman named Eleanor in the north of the island at some time after he received his free pardon.		
<b>Death / Final record</b> Catchpole died in 1861 in Tasmania		

## References ADB

Name	CLARK(E), George	AKA
Age 20	Trade / Calling Country Blacksmith	
Offence / Sentence Demanding money - namely sixpence. (although like all the other <i>Proteus</i> men, for his conduct record, he stated his offence as machine breaking). Sentenced to death, commuted to transportation for seven years.		
County Hampshire	Transport Proteus	
Remarks Single		
<p><b>Convict Conduct Record in VDL</b> In 1833, Clarke was convicted of being absent without leave and was severely reprimanded.</p> <p>Between 1837 and 1838, he was convicted of being drunk on three occasions, and once of assaulting a constable. He was also charged with larceny in 1839 but was discharged.</p>		
<p><b>Narrative of life in VDL</b> Upon arrival, Clarke was assigned to James Cox JP, a major northern landholder and a Legislative Councillor. He stayed on Cox's property until at least the date when he received his ticket of leave in 1835.</p> <p>He received his free pardon on 3 February 1836.</p>		
<p><b>Death / Final record</b> No further record is found of Clarke after his final brush with the law in 1839, and it is most likely that he left the colony some time thereafter.</p>		
References ADB		

Name	CLARKE, John Simon	AKA
Age 22	Trade / Calling Ploughman and Groom	
Offence / Sentence Machine breaking. Transportated for 14 years.		
County Huntingdonshire.	Transport Proteus	
Remarks Single.		
<p><b>Convict Conduct Record in VDL</b> No convictions recorded.</p>		
<p><b>Narrative of life in VDL</b> Upon arrival, Clarke was assigned to Thomas Reibey, an ex master mariner of Entally near Launceston, but he was ill with consumption when he disembarked from the <i>Proteus</i> and was immediately transferred to the Colonial Hospital in Hobart Town. He did not leave the hospital.</p>		
<p><b>Death / Final record</b> Clarke died in HMC Hospital in Van Diemen's Land on 27 October in 1831, while still under sentence.</p>		
References		

Name	COLEMAN, George.	AKA
Age 22	Trade / Calling Ploughman/ Pit Sawyer	

<b>Offence / Sentence</b> Robbery. Sentenced to death, commuted to transportation for seven years.	
<b>County</b> Hampshire	<b>Transport</b> Proteus
<b>Remarks</b> Single. Coleman had one prior conviction for bastardy and two convictions for poaching.	
<b>Convict Conduct Record in VDL</b> (x) 1833- Neglect of duty and misconduct; 50 lashes.	
<b>Narrative of life in VDL</b> Upon arrival, Coleman was assigned to the Loan Gang and this is reflected in his movement around the island. In 1832, he worked for Mr Jellicoe, in 1833 for James Reid and, at some stage in the same year, for Mr Hepburn, late captain in the Ryal Navy. In 1835, he worked for Dr Brock. He received his free pardon on 3 February 1836 and in 1838 departed from Launceston on the <i>Aquilla</i> , bound for Port Phillip. By 1843, Coleman was working for the Learmont Brothers on Buninyong Station. The Learmonts were originally Van Diemen's Land settlers, and he continued to work on the property for the rest of his life.	
<b>Death / Final record</b> Coleman died in 1891 and was buried in the Buninyong cemetery.	
<b>References</b>	

<b>Name</b> COLLEY, William		<b>AKA</b>
<b>Age</b> 27	<b>Trade / Calling</b> Ploughman	
<b>Offence / Sentence (?)</b> – Transported for 7 years.		
<b>County</b> Huntingdonshire		<b>Transport</b> Proteus
<b>Remarks</b> Colley admitted to having a common law wife named Hannah Colley, who was on the parish, but he was adamant that there be no confusion about his status. His Indent carries the emphatic remark “I am not a married man.” Hannah Colley had one child, named William.  Colley had one previous conviction - for trespass, for which he had received a prison sentence of three months and been fined ten pounds.		
<b>Convict Conduct Record in VDL</b> Jan 21, 1834- Leaving his master’s service and coming to Hobart under pretence of preferring a complaint against his master for insufficient food. Found to be utterly frivolous and unfounded - 50 lashes.		
<b>Narrative of life in VDL</b> Upon arrival, Colley was assigned to Richard Pybus, who had a 2500 acre land grant on north Bruny Island. His conviction for attempting to make a groundless complaint against Pybus almost three years later suggests that their relationship was not always a harmonious one. Colley received a ticket of leave in October 1835 and his free pardon on 3 February 1836. After receiving his freedom, Colley remained on Bruny Island – presumably as a labourer - until at least 1851. He was joined on the island by Thomas Stapleton, another Huntingdonshire labourer who came out on the <i>Proteus</i>		
<b>Death / Final record</b> Colley never married and he died in Tasmania in 1882.		
<b>References</b>		

<b>Name</b>	CONDUIT, William (the Younger)	<b>AKA</b>	
<b>Age</b> 24	<b>Trade / Calling</b> Ploughman		



<b>Offence / Sentence</b> Machine Breaking and robbery. Sentenced to death, commuted to seven years transportation.	
County Hampshire	Transport Proteus
Remarks Single.	
Convict Conduct Record in VDL No convictions recorded	
Narrative of life in VDL Upon arrival, Conduit was assigned to John Cox, a coach proprietor and farmer of Norfolk Plains and appears to have remained with him until he received his ticket of leave on 8 September 1835. He received his free pardon on 3 February 1836. Although leading a blameless life when a convict, Conduit was fined ten shillings for a breach of the Police Act in 1837 and a similar amount in 1842 when he rode his cart within five miles of Launceston. The nature of the offence suggests that he may still have been working on a farm at the time, or perhaps as a carrier.	
Death / Final record No record is found of Conduit after 1842, so it is most likely that he left the island thereafter.	
References G. Sharman, <i>MBN</i> .	

Name	COTTON, Robert	AKA
Age 24	Trade / Calling Canal Boat Builder	
Offence / Sentence Machine breaking. Transported for seven years.		
County Oxford	Transport Proteus	
Remarks Single. Cotton's brother Thomas was a boat builder in New York.		
Convict Conduct Record in VDL No convictions recorded.		
Narrative of life in VDL For some unknown reason, the Appropriation List for the Proteus has the word "vacant" next to Cotton's name. It is not known to whom he was assigned; it is only clear that he was assigned to a free settler, and not the Public Works. He received his free pardon on 3 February 1836.		
Death / Final record It is assumed that Cotton left the island some time after he received his free pardon in 1836.		
References		

Name	CROSS, James.	AKA
Age 24	Trade / Calling Ploughman.	
Offence / Sentence Machine breaking. Transported for seven years.		
County Essex.	Transport Proteus	
Remarks Single		
Convict Conduct Record in VDL No convictions recorded.		
Narrative of life in VDL Upon arrival, Cross was assigned to Edward Franks of Green Ponds and appears to		

have remained with him until he received his ticket of leave in 1835. He received his free pardon on 3 February 1836.
<b>Death / Final record</b> Died in 1868 in Tasmania.
<b>References</b>

<b>Name</b> CRUTCH, John		<b>AKA</b>
<b>Age</b> 18	<b>Trade / Calling</b> Labourer	
<b>Offence / Sentence</b> Machine breaking (paper machine). Sentenced to death, commuted to transportation for seven years.		
<b>County</b> Buckinghamshire.	<b>Transport</b> Proteus.	
<b>Remarks</b> Single. On his conduct record, Crutch is recorded as saying he had never been in custody before, but the record is endorsed with a note to the effect that he had in fact been in custody twice before.		
<b>Convict Conduct Record in VDL</b> No convictions recorded.		
<b>Narrative of life in VDL</b> Upon arrival, Crutch was originally noted for assignment to the VDL Company but the entry was crossed out and he was assigned instead to Lieutenant D. Davis of New Norfolk, with whom he stayed until 1834. He was recorded as working for Murray P. Smith in 1835, when he received his ticket of leave. He received a free pardon on 3 February 1836. There is then a gap in the records for Crutch's life in the colonies until he re-appears in 1843. There is a John Crutch of the right age and trade recorded as living in his native village of Loudwater in a census in 1841, so it is possible that he returned to England, worked for a few years and then emigrated to Port Phillip as a free labourer. In 1843, in Port Phillip, Crutch married Ann Robinson, an Irish bounty immigrant and they eventually had 8 children. In the year of his marriage, he selected land at Murroon, becoming the district's first settler. His property, held with a partner, was called Cherry Tree Hill. Many other settlers in this area near Geelong were also from Van Diemen's Land. Between 1848 and 1850, he leased another large property and finally sold the lease and livestock to two other former Van Diemen's Land settlers. He then moved to the Modewarre district as a farmer. There, he built the Bridge Inn and ran it along with his farming interests for a number of years.		
<b>Death / Final record</b> Crutch died in Mount Moriac in 1879.		
<b>References</b> Information supplied by Pam Jennings and Jean Paxman.		

<b>Name</b> DANDRIDGE John.		<b>AKA</b>
<b>Age</b> 45	<b>Trade / Calling</b> Farm Labourer/ Paper Maker	
<b>Offence / Sentence</b> Machine breaking (paper machinery). Sentenced to death, commuted to transportation for seven years.		
<b>County</b> Buckinghamshire.		<b>Transport</b> Proteus
<b>Remarks</b> Married (wife Susannah a lace maker) with five children. A sixth child (Emma) was born two months after the Proteus sailed. When giving information for the completion of his conduct record, Dandridge was		

unaware whether Susannah had successfully delivered their sixth child and only admitted to five.

**Convict Conduct Record in VDL** October 1831 - Insolence and disobedience in rejecting wholesome food - bread and water (period unknown).

March 1832 - Repeated disobedience and insolence - bread and water for four days.

14 December 1832 - Insolence to his master -25 lashes.

15 December 1832 - Refusing to work. Charge dismissed, it being accepted that, due to the flagellation he received the previous day, he was unable to work.

October 1833 - Insubordination to his master - treadwheel for six days.

**Narrative of life in VDL** Upon arrival, Dandridge was assigned to a P. Landle, but he was soon working for the Reverend P. Connolly, with whom he stayed until 1835. Dandridge's conduct record suggests that he was a man who first struggled with a system that he could not endure. All the complaints against him were brought by the Reverend Connolly, and they speak volumes about Connolly as well as Dandridge. Within two months of arriving, Dandridge was before the magistrate on a charge of insolence and disobedience. The words of insolence to his master that got him into trouble on 14 December 1832 were "Do what you want, I'll not go back again!" The very next day, Connolly had Dandridge back before the magistrate for refusing to work. Thankfully, the magistrate accepted a medical certificate that, following the flogging he received the previous day, he was physically incapable of working. There are no more charges recorded after late 1833, though he stayed with Connolly for at least another two years. Dandridge did not receive a ticket of leave, suggesting that his master had not supported his application, but he received a free pardon on 8 February 1836. Dandridge then disappears from the records of Van Diemen's Land.

There is in existence a court notice dated 1 December 1836 from the parish of Wooburn in Buckinghamshire referring to Dandridge having deserted his wife and children, who were thereupon to be chargeable to the parish funds. Superficially, this might suggest that he sailed for home as soon as he received his freedom, but it is unlikely. The record may have merely been a clerical procedure undertaken by the parish as a preliminary step to determine his wife's status so she could qualify for parish relief.

**Death / Final record** There is no record of Dandridge in the colony after he received his free pardon in 1836. It is assumed he left the colony.

**References** MBN, June 1994, ADB.

Name DAVEY, Robert	AKA
Age 30	Trade / Calling Ploughman
Offence / Sentence Machine breaking. Transported for 7 years	
County Essex	Transport Proteus
Remarks Married (wife Elizabeth on the parish) with 3 children. His brother George Davey came out on the Eliza.	
Convict Conduct Record in VDL No convictions recorded.	
Narrative of life in VDL Upon arrival, Davey was assigned to James Youl and it would appear he remained with him until he received his ticket of leave in 1835. Davey received his free pardon on 3 February 1836.	

<b>Death / Final record</b> There is no record of Davey after he received his free pardon in 1836 and it is assumed he left the colony.
<b>References</b>

Name DEWBERRY, William		AKA Dubery, Dubbery, Dewsberry.
Age 25	Trade / Calling Ploughman	
Offence / Sentence Machine breaking. Sentenced to seven years transportation.		
County Buckinghamshire.		Transport Proteus
<p>Remarks Married (wife Ann) with one child. It is not clear whether Dewberry knew before he sailed for Van Diemen's Land that Ann had a second child (William) on the day that he was put on board the hulk <i>York</i>. That child died a year later.</p> <p>Dewberry had appeared before the bench a number of times in England, with two convictions for poaching, one for stealing and one for assault.</p>		
Convict Conduct Record in VDL No convictions recorded.		
<p>Narrative of life in VDL Upon arrival, Dewberry was assigned to James Johnson of Norfolk Plains, but by 1832 he was in the employ of Thomas Reibey at Entally House. He stayed with Reibey until at least the date when he received his ticket of leave in 1835. Although his record of conduct in England was bad, his convict record in Van Diemen's Land was spotless, suggesting that perhaps his crimes in England were driven by poverty. He received a free pardon on 3 February 1836.</p>		
<p>Death / Final record Dewberry returned to his family in England. He and his wife had two more children (one of whom died shortly after birth). He remained a labourer for the rest of his life.</p>		
References		

<b>Name</b> DOVE, William		<b>AKA</b> Dow
<b>Age</b> 21	<b>Trade / Calling</b> Ploughman (can milk)	
<b>Offence / Sentence</b> Two counts of machine breaking. Transported for seven years.		
<b>County</b> Norfolk.		<b>Transport</b> Proteus
<b>Remarks</b> Single.  Dove was described in the <i>Norwich Mercury</i> of 15 January 1831 as being very active in urging labourers to destroy machines in the parish, to which he was a stranger.  His younger brother Norris Dove emigrated to Van Diemen's Land as a free settler at some date after William received his freedom. A younger cousin, also named Norris Dove, was subsequently transported to Van Diemen's Land in 1844 for stealing 10 ducks.		
<b>Convict Conduct Record in VDL</b> 16 Aug. 1833- Out after hours and found in suspicious circumstances in Liverpool Street. Reprimanded.  3 Mar. 1835 - Drunk and furiously riding his master's horse. Treadwheel 10 days and returned to Government Service-Risdon Assignment Gang.		

21 Jan 1836 - Insolence to his master. Cells 14 days on bread and water and to be returned to Government.

**Narrative of life in VDL** Upon arrival, Dove was assigned to a Mr V.D. Felberg, but by 1833 was with a Mr Hewitt, and by 1836, with a Mr Fox – all assignments being in the south of the island.

The fact that he was twice returned to the Government by his masters, and the nature of his offences, suggest that he resented the convict system. Nevertheless, he received his pardon on 4 February 1836 – delayed by one day because of the 14 day sentence he was serving for insolence. In 1838 he married Sarah Ann Stanhope (also known as Stanforth), the daughter of an emancipated convict and shortly afterwards became licensee of the Scotch Thistle Hotel in Hobart. One of his masters during his period of assignment, a Mr Fox, had been a licensee and it is most likely that he received his experience in the liquor trade when assigned to him.

In the same year he bought the freehold to the Dog and Partridge Inn at Hobart and eventually became a very successful hotelier and property owner in the town. In 1861, he bought Oakwood, a large mansion with 500 acres at Bagdad for 3250 pounds. He and Sarah had three children.

Hobsbawm and Rudé believe that he actually became a butcher, but this is unlikely.

**Death / Final record** Died in Hobart in 1866 from cancer of the stomach.

**References** T. Satchell, *Linked By Chains and Lineage* (Dunhill and Dow), A History of Two Convict Families, MS, Victoria, 1992.

<b>Name</b> DRAPER, Samuel		<b>AKA</b>
<b>Age</b> 24	<b>Trade / Calling</b> Farm Labourer	
<b>Offence / Sentence</b> Machine Breaking. Transportation for 7 years.		
<b>County</b> Essex.		<b>Transport</b> Proteus
<b>Remarks</b> Married, with one daughter. (Although, in CON31/10, he is recorded as being single) Draper had only one arm.		
<b>Convict Conduct Record in VDL</b> Mar 27, 1833-Insolence and neglect of duty-25 lashes. Apr 24, 1833- Insolence, refusing to go before a magistrate- 50 lashes. Aug 17, 1833- Suspicion of robbing his master/ absent without leave/insolence- 3 months. Apr 3, 1834- neglect of duty- 14 days. And sent to Launceston chain gang. Aug 25, 1834- neglect- 14 days. Nov 20, 1834- disobedience and neglect- 30 lashes. Dec 11, 1834-idleness- 2 months. March 3, 1835- neglect - one month. Dec 17, 1835- neglect and disobedience- hard labour on chain gang for a period that was not clear in the records.		
<b>Narrative of life in VDL</b> Upon arrival, Draper was assigned to the VDL Company, making him the only machine breaker to be assigned to the Company from the Proteus. At some date thereafter, he was assigned to a Mr Glover (possibly Captain William Glover JP and police magistrate of Sorell), who was the complainant for the three charges of insolence, neglect of work and disobedience of orders in 1833. After serving time on a chain gang, he was retained in the Public Works. He finally received his free pardon in October 1836.		
<b>Death / Final record</b> Died in Van Diemen's Land in 1847		

<b>References</b>
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<b>Name</b> EADE, Stephen	<b>AKA</b>
<b>Age</b> 42	<b>Trade / Calling</b> Ploughman
<b>Offence / Sentence</b> Machine breaking. Transportation for 7 years.	
<b>County</b> Essex	<b>Transport</b> Proteus
<b>Remarks</b> Widower with five children	
<b>Convict Conduct Record in VDL</b> No convictions recorded.	
<b>Narrative of life in VDL</b> Upon arrival, Eade was assigned to John Hart(e) of Little Swan Port, on the east coast of the island and he appears to have remained with him until at least 1835. He received his free pardon on 3 February 1836.	
<b>Death / Final record</b> There is no record of Eade after he received his free pardon in 1836 and it is assumed he left the colony thereafter.	
<b>References</b>	

<b>Name</b> EAST, John	<b>AKA</b>
<b>Age</b> 21	<b>Trade / Calling</b> Letter founder and Labourer
<b>Offence / Sentence</b> Machine breaking (paper machinery). Sentenced to death, commuted to transportation for seven years.	
<b>County</b> Buckinghamshire	<b>Transport</b> Proteus
<b>Remarks</b> Married (wife Charlotte) with one child. His son William was born one month after he was arrested. Charlotte's maiden name was Blizzard, suggesting that she was related to Thomas Blizzard, one of the leaders of the Buckinghamshire Riots (although she was not one of his two sisters).	
<b>Convict Conduct Record in VDL</b> No convictions recorded.	
<b>Narrative of life in VDL</b> Upon arrival, East was originally endorsed for assignment to the VDL Company, but instead ended up being assigned to Lieutenant Arthur Davies RN, who had a property near Mount Dromedary in the Derwent Valley. He remained with Davies until he received his ticket of leave in 1835. He received his free pardon on 3 February 1836. East stayed in the Derwent Valley where he worked as a farm labourer for a few years. In 1840 he married Sara Hambury, a convict, and they had four children. By 1851, East was farming land that he leased and employed a ticket of leave servant in the village of Lachlan.	
<b>Death / Final record</b> Died of bronchitis in Tasmania in 1857.	
<b>References</b> MBN December 1994, ADB.	

<b>Name</b> EVERETT, James	<b>AKA</b>
<b>Age</b> 22	<b>Trade / Calling</b> Ploughman (can reap, sow and mow)

<b>Offence / Sentence</b> Machine breaking. Transported for seven years.	
<b>County</b> Suffolk	<b>Transport</b> Proteus
<b>Remarks</b> Single.	
<b>Convict Conduct Record in VDL</b> No convictions recorded.	
<p><b>Narrative of life in VDL</b> Upon arrival, Everett was assigned to Dr Mather and appears to have remained with him until he received his ticket of leave in 1835. He received his free pardon on 3 February 1836.</p> <p>In 1842, he and fellow shipmate William Horner were neighbours and shared a servant on their farms at Jerusalem.</p>	
<b>Death / Final record</b> Everett probably died in Tasmania in 1877.	
<b>References</b> Rudé and Hobsbawm, <i>Captain Swing</i> , p. 276.	

Name		EVERETT, Thomas	AKA
Age 47		Trade / Calling Ploughman (can reap, sow and milk)	
Offence / Sentence Machine breaking. Transportation for seven years.			
County Suffolk		Transport Proteus	
Remarks Married (wife Rebecca) with seven children. He is the father of James Everett, transported on the <i>Proteus</i> as well. It is worth noting that both the Everetts were from Withersfield, the village from which most of the free settlers provided with assisted passage by the VDL Company came, in return for the assignment of fifty agricultural convicts to the Company.			
Convict Conduct Record in VDL No convictions recorded.			
Narrative of life in VDL Upon arrival, Everett was assigned to Lt. Grove, who had recently retired from the 63rd Regiment and taken up a land grant near Ben Lomond in the north of the colony, which he named Kelvin Grove. It is likely that Everett remained at Kelvin Grove until he received his ticket of leave in 1835, and possibly for a few months thereafter. He received his free pardon on 3 February 1836.			
Death / Final record There is no record of Everett after he received his free pardon, and it is assumed he left the colony - possibly returning home to England.			
References K Green, Emigration and Transportation of Rural Dissent, MS, Hobart, 1997.			

Name FISHER, Thomas		AKA
Age 19, although the assignment list has him as 24.	Trade / Calling Pit Sawyer	
Offence / Sentence Machine breaking (paper machinery). Sentenced to death, commuted to transportation for 7 years.		
County Buckinghamshire		Transport Proteus
Remarks Married (wife Louisa a bonnet maker) with one child.		

One earlier conviction for leaving his wife and child - imprisoned for 3 months.
<b>Convict Conduct Record in VDL</b> Apr 10, 1832 - Drunk and disorderly, having a bottle of gin on his person - 50 lashes.
Sept 2, 1833 - Absent without leave - 30 lashes.
Oct 12, 1835- Pilfering potatoes - 3 months labour in irons (on the Spring Hill Road Party) and returned to the Crown.
<b>Narrative of life in VDL</b> Upon arrival, Fisher was assigned to the loan gang, and was lent out to various landowners for short periods until his last offence in 1835, after which he was kept on the road gang. Rudé believes that Fisher made for the Mainland after he absconded from a chain gang, however there is stronger evidence that in fact he did ultimately receive his freedom after the expiration of his sentences and married a Mary Rogers before leaving the colony for New South Wales in 1838 after he received a conditional pardon.
<b>Death / Final record</b> Fisher went to New South Wales with his bride in 1838.
<b>References</b> G Rudé, <i>Protest and Punishment</i> , p. 209.

<b>Name</b> FARMER, Jeremiah		<b>AKA</b>
<b>Age</b> 30	<b>Trade / Calling</b> Ploughman, shepherd.	
<b>Offence / Sentence</b> Demanding money with menace. Sentenced to death, commuted to transportation for fourteen years.		
<b>County</b> Hampshire		<b>Transport</b> Proteus
<b>Remarks</b> Married (wife Elizabeth) with one child. Two previous convictions for stealing (shoes and a greatcoat), and possibly a third one for leaving his master. The person from whom he stole the clothing was Abel Farmer, his brother.		
<b>Convict Conduct Record in VDL</b> 1835-Charged with purloining a sheep and using bad language - case dismissed.		
<b>Narrative of life in VDL</b> Upon arrival, Farmer was assigned to Mr Thomas Cleland and he stayed with him until at least 1835. He was granted a ticket of leave in late 1837 and a conditional pardon in April 1838. He appears to have spent the rest of his working life in the Derwent Valley and the Hamilton area because in 1844, as a shepherd, he married Margaret Carroll (died 1846) in Hamilton and, in 1855, as a farm labourer he married Mary Feheley in New Norfolk. There were no children of either marriage.		
<b>Death / Final record</b> Died in Tasmania at Brickfields Pauper Establishment of cancer, 1871.		
<b>References</b>		

Name FREEMANTLE Nicholas		AKA
Age 30	Trade / Calling Farm labourer, pit sawyer.	
Offence / Sentence Assault, stealing, riotous assembly. Sentenced to death, commuted to transportation for life.		
County Hampshire		Transport Proteus



<b>Remarks</b> Married (wife Amelia on the parish) with two children. His second child was baptised on 3 April 1831. Some time after he was transported, Amelia remarried and had another child by 1840.
<b>Convict Conduct Record in VDL</b> July 1837-Being in a public house-reprimanded. November 1837-Being absent from authorised place of residence-one month's hard labour.
<b>Narrative of life in VDL</b> Upon arrival, Freemantle was assigned to the Loan Gang, where he stayed until 1835. In that year, for some reason that is not clear from his convict records, he was transported to Port Arthur. He did not receive his conditional pardon until 1838 and a free pardon until 1843. This was well after the other machine breakers sentenced to transportation for life received their freedom. Why this was so remains a mystery and suggests that he must have committed some other crime while on the Loan Gang.
<b>Death / Final record</b> Freemantle died in Hobart in 1861.
<b>References</b>

<b>Name</b> GATHERCOLE, Rice.		<b>AKA</b>
<b>Age</b> 22	<b>Trade / Calling</b> Ploughman, Country blacksmith.	
<b>Offence / Sentence:</b> Transported for 7 years. Offence is unclear.		
<b>County</b> Norfolk	<b>Transport</b> Proteus	
<b>Remarks</b> Single		
<b>Convict Conduct Record in VDL</b> Nov 12, 1831- Absent from master's service without leave.- Reprimanded. June 12, 1832- Neglect of duty in losing 12 sheep, his master's property- sentence unclear. July 31, 1833 - Absent without leave and taking his master's female servant away.- 20 lashes. 3 March 1838- (?) - Fraudulently obtaining money - to be committed for trial.		
<b>Narrative of life in VDL</b> Upon arrival, Gathercole was assigned to Mr R Dawson. He stayed in Dawson's service at least until late 1833, because Dawson was the complainant for all his appearances in court up until that date.  He did not receive a free pardon in 1836 and continued working in the colony as a ticket of leave man. His sentence would have expired in 1838 but he was committed for trial before its expiration, still as a ticket of leave man, on a new charge of fraudulently obtaining money. Within a matter of a few weeks and shortly before his trial was meant to take place, he died at the Richmond Gaol. The verdict of the subsequent coronial inquest was that he died "by the visitation of God and not otherwise". Sadly, Glenelg's letter to Lieutenant Governor Franklin advising of a pardon for Gathercole and the other forgotten machine breakers had already been received by Franklin at the time Gathercole passed away.		
<b>Death / Final record</b> Died at Richmond Gaol in April 1838 while awaiting trial.		
<b>References</b> SC 195/4, Inquest no. 188 (Archives Office of Tasmania).		

Name		GLASSPOLE, James	AKA
Age 30		Trade / Calling Farm labourer	
Offence / Sentence Theft, robbery.			

Sentenced to death, commuted to transportation for seven years.	
County Hampshire	Transport Proteus
Remarks Single.	
Convict Conduct Record in VDL 1834-Charged with stealing three bales of wool, value 18 pounds. Committed for trial.	
Narrative of life in VDL Upon arrival, Glasspole was assigned to Richard Barker of Macquarie Plains. He stayed with Barker until at least 1834. Barker was the complainant for the charge of stealing the wool, so it is not surprising that in 1835, he was assigned to a new master, Mr Forte. He could not have been found guilty of the charge of stealing, however, because he received his free pardon on 3 February 1836.	
Death / Final record It is likely that Glasspole died in Richmond, Victoria in 1852.	
References	

Name		GEE, David	AKA
Age 19		Trade / Calling Ploughman	
Offence / Sentence Machine breaking. Sentenced to death, commuted to transportation for seven years.			
County Wiltshire		Transport Proteus	
Remarks Single			
Convict Conduct Record in VDL 1834- Insolence to his master. 48 hours solitary confinement on bread and water.			
Narrative of life in VDL Upon arrival, David Gee was assigned to Thomas Doran, who had a property at the Sorell Rivulet. He stayed with Doran until 1835, when he received his ticket of leave. He received a free pardon on 3 February 1836. In 1850, he married Mary Ann Monaghan.			
Death / Final record There is no record of David Gee in Tasmania after he married in 1850. Possibly, he went to join his brother Worthy Gee in Port Phillip. Hobsbawm and Rudé believe that he remained in the colony as a distiller.			
References Hobsbawm and Rudé, p. 277.			

Name		GEE, Worthy	AKA
Age 18		Trade / Calling Ploughman	
Offence / Sentence Machine breaking. Sentenced to death, commuted to transportation for seven years.			
County Wiltshire		Transport Proteus	
Remarks Single			
Convict Conduct Record in VDL 1834- Disobedience of orders from his master. Admonished.			
Narrative of life in VDL Upon arrival, Worthy Gee was assigned to James Brown and stayed with him until he received his ticket of leave in 1835 and continued working for him until he received his free pardon on 3 February 1836.			

**Death / Final record** On 3 June 1836, Worthy Gee sailed from Launceston with his former master, James Brown, on board the *Gem* for Port Phillip. They took 500 sheep and two horses with them. No further record of him has been found, although it is highly likely that he remained in the new colony.

**References**

<b>Name</b> GODDARD, Thomas		<b>AKA</b>
<b>Age</b> 29(although the assignment list for the Proteus has him as 39, which is plainly wrong)	<b>Trade / Calling</b> Tanner	
<b>Offence / Sentence</b> Demanding money. Sentenced to death, commuted to transportation for seven years.		
<b>County</b> Wiltshire		<b>Transport</b> Proteus
<b>Remarks</b> Married (wife Susan) with two children.		
<b>Convict Conduct Record in VDL</b> No convictions recorded.		
<b>Narrative of life in VDL</b> Upon arrival, Goddard was assigned to a Mr Crawley but by 1833 he was working for James Hortle, chief district constable, on his property of Quamby Brook. Goddard stayed on the property until at least the date on which he received his ticket of leave in 1835. He received a free pardon on 3 February 1836.		
<b>Death / Final record</b> Goddard returned to his home village of Ramsbury, sailing from Launceston on the <i>Norval</i> on 5 June 1836, after its return from Port Phillip. His wife Susan had died in 1833 during his time in Van Diemen's Land and in 1837 he married Mary Culverhouse. Their only child died a few weeks after birth in 1838 and Mary died in 1839. In 1843 Goddard married Mary Lansdown and they subsequently had three children, two of whom died while still very young. Goddard appears to have remained a tanner by trade, although his eldest son became a shoemaker, employing three men and owning his shop in High Street, Ramsbury. He died in 1852.		
<b>References</b>		

<b>Name</b> GOODMAN, Thomas		<b>AKA</b>
<b>Age</b> 22	<b>Trade / Calling</b> Farm labourer/ Hurdle maker	
<b>Offence / Sentence</b> Setting fire to a barn in the riots. Sentenced to death, commuted to transportation for life.		
<b>County</b> Sussex		<b>Transport</b> Proteus
<b>Remarks</b> Single.		
<b>Convict Conduct Record in VDL</b> Sept 28, 1833- Stealing a steer, value 3 pounds, the property of Mr Field- Discharged. Feb 11, 1837- Having had improper communication with female convicts in gaol.- X months hard labour out of chains and to be removed from his master. - Sent to Mt Direction gang, vide Lieut. Governor's decision, 27 Feb, 1837.		
<b>Narrative of life in VDL</b> Upon arrival, Goodman was assigned to Thomas Reibey in Northern VDL, although it is not clear how long he stayed with Reibey. By February 1833 he was assigned to H. Gunn, and by 1837 he was		

working on the Mt Direction gang in the Public Works. He received a conditional pardon, vide memo Colonel Grey, on 5 April 1838. In 1842, he married Margaret Neiliss in the colony.

**Death / Final record** There is no record of Goodman dying in Van Diemen's Land.

It is likely that he moved to New South Wales and died there in 1856.

#### References

<b>Name</b>	GREEN, Thomas	<b>AKA</b>	
<b>Age</b>	22	<b>Trade / Calling</b>	Labourer
<b>Offence / Sentence</b> Machine breaking (machines for making iron castings and ploughs in a foundry). Sentenced to death, commuted to transportation for 14 years.			
<b>County</b> Hampshire		<b>Transport</b> Proteus	
<b>Remarks</b> Single. Had lost his right arm close to the shoulder. Had previously been convicted for stealing two pieces of lead pipe, for which he served four months imprisonment.			
<b>Convict Conduct Record in VDL</b> 1832-neglect of duty, and later insolence. 1833-Suspicion of being an accessory to theft, and later, charged twice with idleness. Neglect of duty, profane swearing, and making use of threatening language. 1835-accusing a constable of a felony. 1836-neglect of duty, and later drunken and disorderly. 1837-gross neglect, drunken and disorderly. His sentences in most cases were surprisingly mild, being most commonly reprimanded or admonished He was flogged only once, and received a further sentence of six months only in 1837.			
<b>Narrative of life in VDL</b> Upon arrival, Thomas Green was assigned to a Mr Brown, but his repeated insolence and disobedience of orders led to him being sent to the road gang by early 1833. Apart from some possible short periods of assignment, during which he quickly disillusioned his masters, he appears to have spent the balance of his convict career in the service of the Public Works Department on road gangs. He did not receive a conditional pardon until 1838 and thereafter appears to have committed no further crimes.			
<b>Death / Final record</b> It is most likely that Green died in 1894, still working as a shepherd in Prospect, Tasmania.			
<b>References</b>			

<b>Name</b>	GREGORY, Thomas	<b>AKA</b>	Gregorie
<b>Age</b>	32	<b>Trade / Calling</b>	Variously described as a carpenter, wheelwright, and pit sawyer.
<b>Offence / Sentence</b> Machine breaking (a chaff cutting machine and a threshing machine) and demanding money. Sentenced to death, commuted to transportation for 7 years.			
<b>County</b> Hampshire		<b>Transport</b> Proteus	

<b>Remarks</b> Married ( second wife Maria) with three children. His convict indent indicates that he was "rather deaf". The Hammonds wrote that Gregory, who was a carpenter, was earning 18 shillings a week in the service of Lord Winchester at the time he joined the Riots.
<b>Convict Conduct Record in VDL</b> No convictions recorded.
<b>Narrative of life in VDL</b> Upon arrival, Gregory was assigned to the loan gang. In 1833 he was assigned to the Perth property of Lieutenant Thomas Ritchie RN JP and appears to have remained with Ritchie until he received his ticket of leave in August 1835. Shortly after being assigned to Ritchie, he successfully applied for his family to receive assisted passage out to the colony, although they did not take up the offer. He received his free pardon on 3 February 1836.
<b>Death / Final record</b> Some time after he received his free pardon in 1836, Gregory returned to England and fathered another child by his second wife, Maria.
<b>References</b> Hammonds, <i>The Village Labourer</i> , p.284, ADB.

<b>Name</b> GUNTON, James		<b>AKA</b>
<b>Age</b> 28	<b>Trade / Calling</b> Country blacksmith.	
<b>Offence / Sentence</b> Machine breaking (a threshing machine) Sentenced to transportation for 7 years.		
<b>County</b> Norfolk	<b>Transport</b> Proteus	
<b>Remarks</b> Married (wife Susan) with two children. Susan was also expecting a third child at the time he was convicted and transported. Another James Gunton, who may have been his father, was convicted of rioting at the same Quarter Sessions, but received only a short sentence.		
<b>Convict Conduct Record in VDL</b> Two minor reprimands in 1834 for being in a public house out of hours.		
<b>Narrative of life in VDL</b> Upon arrival, Gunton was assigned to Dr Temple Pearson, who had a property in the Campbell Town area. Gunton appears to have served his entire term with Pearson and received his free pardon on 3 February 1836 and in 1838 married Ann Minton (a free immigrant) . He became a prosperous smithy, first at Cleveland and later at Evandale.		
<b>Death / Final record</b> Died in 1873 at the age of 73 in Evandale, when kicked by a horse that he was shoeing.		
<b>References</b> A Everett and B Howroyd, "A Proteus Man", MS Hobart 1994.		

Name		HARDING, Thomas	AKA
Age 32		Trade / Calling Ploughman	
Offence / Sentence Demolishing a poor-house. Sentenced to death, commuted to transportation for 7 years.			
County Hampshire		Transport Proteus	
Remarks Single.			

His brother Aaron had already been transported for an earlier offence.

**Convict Conduct Record in VDL** For reasons that are not clear, Harding embarked on a life of crime quite late in life. In 1838, he was convicted of receiving five one pound notes, knowing them to be stolen and was sentenced to a further 7 years transportation. He absconded from the road gang a month later and was not apprehended for six months. On 29 April 1839, he was sentenced to a further two years imprisonment. The next day, he was sentenced to a further 12 months for an earlier offence. Three weeks later, he absconded from his new road gang and was never seen again.

**Narrative of life in VDL** Upon arrival, Harding was assigned to G Meredith Senior of Great Swan Port but soon afterwards was transferred to Dr Henderson, who lived near Launceston. He appears to have spent the balance of his period as a convict with him. He received a ticket of leave in 1835 and a free pardon on 3 February 1836. Harding stayed in the north of the island. His career is unusual in that he appears to have been a model convict, with no offences but he committed some serious offences after receiving his free pardon.

**Death / Final record** Absconded from a chain gang in 1839. No record exists of him after that date, so it is likely he managed to escape to the Mainland.

**References** G Rudé, *Protest and Punishment* (although Rudé refers to him as "Hardy").

<b>Name</b>		HOLLIS, Thomas	<b>AKA</b>	
<b>Age 26</b>		Trade / Calling Ploughman (can shear sheep)		
<b>Offence / Sentence</b> Machine breaking - sentenced to transportation for 7 years.				
<b>County</b> Oxfordshire		<b>Transport</b> Proteus		
<b>Remarks</b> Married (wife Keziah, a lace maker) with one child.				
<b>Convict Conduct Record in VDL</b> No offences committed.				
<b>Narrative of life in VDL</b> Upon arrival, Hollis was assigned to a Mr R Manley. He had a spotless record and received his free pardon on 3 February 1836.				
<b>Death / Final record</b> Hollis died in Victoria in 1869.				
<b>References</b>				

<b>Name</b> HOLT, Moses		<b>AKA</b>
<b>Age 21</b>	<b>Trade / Calling</b> Farm labourer	
<b>Offence / Sentence</b> Destroying paper machinery. Sentenced to transportation for 7 years.		
<b>County</b> Buckinghamshire.		<b>Transport</b> Proteus
<b>Remarks</b> Single.  Two prior convictions for stealing wood, for which he had received prison sentences of two months and three months respectively.		
<b>Convict Conduct Record in VDL</b> 6 November 1832- Drunk and disorderly- one month imprisonment at hard labour.  31 May 1833- Being on premises of a Thomas Wilson under suspicious circumstances- 50 lashes and returned to the service of the Crown.  25 June 1838 - Drunk - fined 5/-.		

<b>Narrative of life in VDL</b> Upon arrival, Holt was assigned to Archibald Thomson but before the end of the year had been re-assigned to J Pollard and, following his imprisonment in 1832, was re-assigned again to Wiliam Lyttleton JP. Following his second conviction and punishment, Holt was returned to the Crown and spent the remainder of his term as a convict in the Public Works. He received a conditional pardon in April 1838.
<b>Death / Final record</b> Holt departed for Port Phillip in 1840.
<b>References</b> CON 78/2.

<b>Name</b> HORNER, William	<b>AKA</b>
<b>Age</b> 24	<b>Trade / Calling</b> Ploughman (can milk)
<b>Offence / Sentence</b> 7 Years.	
<b>County</b> Huntingdonshire	<b>Transport</b> Proteus
<b>Remarks</b> Married (wife Ann) with one child.	
<b>Convict Conduct Record in VDL</b> No convictions recorded.	
<b>Narrative of life in VDL</b> Upon arrival, Horner was assigned to James Drummond of Jerusalem. It appears that he remained working on Drummond's farm until at least when he received his ticket of leave in late 1835. Horner received his free pardon on 3 February 1836 and remained in the Jerusalem area because in 1842 he and James Everett (another machine breaker) were neighbours and sharing a farm servant on their properties. In 1852, Horner finally collected his certificate of a free pardon, prepared 14 years previously – possibly in order that he could leave Van Diemen's Land to go to the gold fields.	
<b>Death / Final record</b> It is most likely that Horner died in Tasmania in 1862 of inflammation of the liver. He was certainly still on the island in 1852, when he collected his certificate of free pardon.	
<b>References</b> Rudé and Hobsbawm, p. 276.	

<b>Name</b> HOWES, George	<b>AKA</b>
<b>Age</b> 25	<b>Trade / Calling</b> Ploughman
<b>Offence / Sentence</b> Machine breaking. Transported for 14 years.	
<b>County</b> Norfolk	<b>Transport</b> Proteus
<b>Remarks</b> Married (wife Sarah) with three children. Sarah died one month after Howes' departure, and the children were brought up by his parents. One previous conviction for an unknown offence.	
<b>Convict Conduct Record in VDL</b> June 28 1832- Continual idleness and not having begun work until 10 o'clock - admonished. Dec 27, 1832- Riotous and disorderly conduct - Treadwheel for 14 days. May 20 1834- Absent from his master's premises and in the house of James Clare at New Town in company with very bad characters- Reprimanded. Aug 1 1834- Gross prevarication in giving evidence in a case of harbouring- 12 months hard labour and never again to be assigned near Hobart, having formed bad connections. Nov 12 1834- (Road Party) - Exchanging his clothing - reprimanded.	
<b>Narrative of life in VDL</b> Upon arrival, Howes was assigned to Thomas Horne, a recently arrived barrister who	

later became Attorney-General (1844), a judge and, even later, President of the colony's Legislative Council. Howes appears to have got in with bad company in Hobart and in 1834, as part of a sentence, was ordered never again to be assigned to a settler in the south. Even while on the road party he misbehaved and in 1835 was re-assigned to Norfolk Plains, to another road party. He received his free pardon on 3 August 1837. In 1838 he departed the colony for Port Phillip and married Eliza Shean (an Irish immigrant girl) in 1840. In total they had four children. In 1841, when their first child was born, they were living in a one-room mud hut in South Melbourne.

By 1843, they were living in East Brighton. Subsequently, they were among the first settlers in the Bentleigh/McKinnon (Moorabbin) district, where George established a market garden. His son by his first marriage (William) emigrated to Australia with his bride and later joined his father and his two half brothers John and Edward as a market gardener. In the 1862 rates book for Moorabbin, Howes was recorded as owning two properties which were both being worked as market gardens.

**Death / Final record** Howes died in Brighton, Victoria in 1881.

**References** J Cribbin, *Moorabbin, A Pictorial History*, City of Kingston, 1995, p.35. ADB.

Name		HUGHES, William		AKA	
Age 35		Trade / Calling Ploughman (can milk)			
Offence / Sentence 7 years.					
County Huntingdonshire			Transport Proteus		
Remarks Married (wife Ann) with four children. A fifth child – Solomon – was born to Ann four weeks before the <i>Proteus</i> reached Hobart Town.					
Convict Conduct Record in VDL No convictions recorded.					
Narrative of life in VDL On the voyage out in the <i>Proteus</i> , Hughes suffered from catarrhus and scorbutus (a form of scurvy) and upon arrival was admitted to hospital. After release from hospital, Hughes was assigned to the Evandale property (Pleasant Banks) of David Gibson – a <i>Calcutta</i> emancipist who, like Austin, had become a significant landowner, with 7300 acres, 4000 head of sheep and 1500 cattle – although Arthur only ever spoke slightly of his character and success. In October 1831, Hughes' 17 year old son William (III) arrived in Van Diemen's Land and worked on properties in the north of the island as well. After he received his ticket of leave in 1835, Hughes appears to have continued to work for Gibson until he received his free pardon on 3 February 1836 and he may have continued to work at Pleasant Banks for a few years thereafter. At various times over the next few years, at least two more of Hughes' children came out to the colony, as well as Ann his wife, who came out some time after 1837. By 1847 Hughes was renting farm land on the edge of Deloraine and he added further property to his modest farm over the following years.					
Death / Final record Hughes died in Deloraine in 1874					
References MBN Vol 6, No 3, December 2000. ADB.					

Name	HURRELL, Isaac	AKA
Age 21	Trade / Calling Shepherd, can draw lambs	
Offence / Sentence Machine breaking. Transported for 7 years		



County Norfolk	Transport Proteus
<b>Remarks</b> Single. Previous conviction for stealing lambs.	
<b>Convict Conduct Record in VDL</b> Oct 31, 1831- Insolence- 3 months chain gang. May 28, 1832- Gross insubordination- and disobedience of mistress- 50 lashes and to be imprisoned for 6 days. Dec 8, 1832- Insubordination and disobedience- 25 lashes Jan 28, 1833- Neglect of duty, Insolence, Disorderly conduct- 6 months on Road Party. April 6, 1833- Neglect of Duty- To work for 4 Saturdays April 15, 1833- Refusing to work on Saturdays - Additional 4 Saturdays. May 21, 1833- Insolence- 25 lashes. June 25, 1833- Absent Saturday - 3 days imprisonment Nov 29 1833- Quarrelling and fighting in the works - Charge dismissed Dec 1, 1834 - Found at large without a pass or the permission of his master- severely reprimanded.	
<b>Narrative of life in VDL</b> Upon arrival, Hurrell was assigned to John Hunt Butcher JP. He proved to be a rebellious convict and over three years accumulated an enviable record for offences of insubordination and refusing to work. Hurrell ended up on a road party, and appears to have only been reassigned to a settler in 1834. His new master was Mr Horton, the founder of Horton College at Ross. His years of insolence then seem to have come to an end and his conduct record discloses nothing after December 1834. Hurrell never received a ticket of leave, however, and was still assigned in the Campbell Town district in 1837. He received a pardon in April 1838	
<b>Death / Final record</b> There is no record of Hurrell in the colony after 1838 and it is assumed he left the colony thereafter.	
<b>References</b>	

Name	ISLES, Isaac	AKA	Iles
Age 25	Trade / Calling Ploughman, market gardener, maltster and brickfields labourer		
Offence / Sentence Rioting and demanding money. Sentenced to death, but sentence commuted to transportation for 7 years.			
County Hampshire		Transport Proteus	
Remarks Single			
Convict Conduct Record in VDL Nov 21, 1831- Absent from masters service on Saturday night - reprimanded. Jan 9, 1832- Riotous and disorderly conduct, fighting with a man on Saturday night last- Treadwheel for 10 days.			
Narrative of life in VDL Upon arrival, Isles was assigned to Mr V Coombs and appears to have remained with him until he received his free pardon on 3 February 1836. Shortly after receiving his ticket of leave Isles had married Eliza Gifford in late 1835 and they eventually had 10 children. Seven months after receiving his freedom he was the master of one assigned convict and living in the Oatlands area and a month later, he took over the Canterbury Inn at Hollow Tree Bottom near Colebrook and prospered. He later became a farmer, first at Colebrook, and later at Brandy Bottom. Typical of the era, his death notice in 1896 glossed over the fact he had been a convict. His funeral, when he died at the age of 96, was reported as one of the largest ever held in the Colebrook area.			

<b>Death / Final record</b> Isles died at Colebrook in Tasmania in 1896.
<b>References</b> Information provided by Alan Ludeke, Victoria.

Name	KEEBLE, Robert	AKA
Age 28	Trade / Calling Farm labourer	
Offence / Sentence Machine breaking. Transported for 7 years.		
County Essex	Transport Proteus	
Remarks Single		
Convict Conduct Record in VDL Nov 23, 1835 - Neglecting to attend muster and church - admonished.		
Narrative of life in VDL Upon arrival, Keeble was assigned to George Simpson of Isis River. He appears to have remained with Simpson until he received his ticket of leave in 1835 and his free pardon on 3 February 1836. Some time after that date, he left the colony for Port Phillip		
Death / Final record Keeble died at Portland in Victoria in 1853.		
References		

<b>Name</b> KEENS, Richard		<b>AKA</b>
<b>Age</b> 34	<b>Trade / Calling</b> Ploughman, navigator	
<b>Offence / Sentence</b> Rioting, and stealing- sentenced to death, commuted to transportation for life.		
<b>County</b> Hampshire		<b>Transport</b> Proteus
<b>Remarks</b> Single.		
<b>Convict Conduct Record in VDL</b> Oct 23 1832- Assault and being drunk - admonished. May 28, 1834- Drunk and disorderly - Treadwheel for 6 days. Feb 21, 1835 - stealing - case dismissed. Aug 10, 1835- Disorderly conduct - reprimanded. March 23, 1836 - Making away with property of the Crown - case dismissed.		
<b>Narrative of life in VDL</b> Upon arrival, Keens was assigned to the water party in the Public Works Department. He appears to have worked his way up the government ladder and by late 1835 at least, he was overseer for one of the road parties at the Styx Bridge. He received a ticket of leave in 1835 as well. He received a conditional pardon on 5 April 1838 and his free pardon on 12 April 1841		
<b>Death / Final record</b> Keens left Launceston for Melbourne on 30 September 1851.		
<b>References</b>		

Name KIMBER, John		AKA
Age 35	Trade / Calling Shepherd, can draw lambs.	
Offence / Sentence Sentenced to death, commuted to transportation for 7 years		
County Hampshire		Transport Proteus

**Remarks Single.**

Two previous convictions for poaching and stealing wood (3 months for each conviction).

Kimber had lost his left hand at the wrist.

**Convict Conduct Record in VDL Oct 12, 1833- Neglect of duty - admonished.**

Jan 15, 1834 - Gross neglect of duty and absconding - Road party for 3 months and discharged from service of master.

**Narrative of life in VDL** Upon arrival, Kimber was assigned to William Archer, a major landowner in the north of the colony. Following his second offence of neglect of duty (and absconding) Kimber was sent to a road party and, after serving his 3 months, was assigned to W.E. Lawrence, another major northern pastoralist and a Legislative Councillor. He received his free pardon 3 February 1836.

**Death / Final record** Died of decay of nature at Launceston, 1867.

**References**

<b>Name</b>	KIMMENCE, Robert	<b>AKA</b>	
<b>Age 35</b>	Trade / Calling Farm labourer, Timber feller		
<b>Offence / Sentence (?)</b> - Transported for 7 Years.			
<b>County</b> Suffolk		<b>Transport</b> Proteus	
<b>Remarks</b> Married (wife Sarah) with two children.(although he is described as having three children in CON 31/26) One previous conviction of assault - 14 days imprisonment.			
<b>Convict Conduct Record in VDL</b> Dec 9, 1836 - Drunk - fined five shillings. Feb 21, 1837 - Stealing 2 sheep - Launceston - transported for 14 years. (There is a note on his conduct record "3 years to Port Arthur and his conduct to be reported" Mar 16, 1837- Fishing contrary to orders - 3 weeks on No 3 Chain Gang, Port Arthur. July 25, 1838 - Being in prison ward contrary to orders - 3 weeks chain gang. Mar 27, 1844 - Found in a disorderly house - [illegible] hard labour, then to reside on the other side of the island. He was sent to Lovely Banks to complete his sentence. Mar 3, 1845- Exposing his person - Fined 5 shillings.			
<b>Narrative of life in VDL</b> Upon arrival, Kimmence was assigned to a Mr Grove in the north of the colony. He was something of an enigma, in that he had a spotless record as a convict, receiving a free pardon on 3 February 1836. In less than a year, however, he had been convicted of stealing sheep and been transported for a further 14 years. There followed a string of convictions for minor misdemeanours until he received a ticket of leave on 27 October 1843. Even then, he was returned to hard labour on a road party, and his last conviction was in 1845. He received his second free pardon on 5 October 1845 but a certificate was not issued until February 1852. He married Phoebe Latham in the colony in 1850. Perhaps he requested the certificate so he could leave the colony for the Victorian goldfields. If he did, then he must have returned at some stage, because he died in the colony in 1865.			
<b>Death / Final record</b> Died at Port Sorell in Tasmania in 1865.			

## References CON 78/2.

<b>Name</b>	<b>KINGSHOTT,</b> <b>John</b>	<b>AKA</b>
<b>Age</b> 36	<b>Trade / Calling</b> Farm labourer	
<b>Offence / Sentence</b> Feloniously robbing Mary King of certain loaves of bread, some cheese and beer. Sentenced to death, commuted to transportation for life.		
<b>County</b> Hampshire		<b>Transport</b> Proteus
<b>Remarks</b> Married (wife Mary) with five children.		
<b>Convict Conduct Record in VDL</b> No convictions recorded.		
<p><b>Narrative of life in VDL</b> Upon arrival, Kingshott was assigned to John Kingstall but before 1834 had been re-assigned to Mrs Ann Bridger, a hotelier and landowner in New Norfolk.</p> <p>In her services he learned the trade of blacksmithing and in June 1834 successfully applied for Mary and their children to join him in the colony. They were reunited in late 1834 and Mary had one more child before she died.</p> <p>Kingshott remained farming in the New Norfolk area after he received his free pardon in 1838 and employed one assigned servant. By 1858 he had left New Norfolk, probably to live on his son's farm at O'Brien's Bridge (Glenorchy), closer to Hobart.</p>		
<b>Death / Final record</b> Died in 1866 at O'Brien's Bridge and buried at St. Paul's Church, Glenorchy.		
<b>References</b>		

<b>Name</b>	<b>KNIBBS,</b> <b>William</b>	<b>AKA</b>	<b>Nibbs</b>
<b>Age</b> 21	<b>Trade / Calling</b> Labourer		
<b>Offence / Sentence</b> Riotous assembly and machine breaking (in a paper mill). Sentenced to death; commuted to transportation for 7 years.			
<b>County</b> Buckinghamshire		<b>Transport</b> Proteus	
<b>Remarks</b> Single.			
One previous conviction for stealing turnip greens.(One month imprisonment).			
<p><b>Convict Conduct Record in VDL</b> Nov 28, 1832 - Absent without leave and going to a public house on a Sunday - admonished</p> <p>Sep 23, 1834 - Gross immoral conduct - Westbury road party for 12 months</p> <p>Nov 12, 1834 - Absconding from road party - 6 months hard labour in addition to original sentence.</p> <p>Dec 20, 1834 - Absconding - 50 lashes.</p> <p>Jan 16, 1835 - Idleness - 7 days confinement and to work 4 Saturday afternoons.</p>			
<b>Narrative of life in VDL</b> Upon arrival, Knibbs was assigned to Joseph Hone. His first two years as a convict were peaceful, but then he committed some act of indecency and was assigned to a road party. There, he absconded on a number of occasions. Due to his extension of sentence in the colony, Knibbs did not receive his			

free pardon until 5 April 1836.

After receiving his free pardon, Knibbs worked first as a free labourer in Westbury and then as an overseer of the Reverend Bishton's property near East Devonport. He married Mary Ann Timoney (a convict) in 1845 and the Reverend Bishton conducted the ceremony. About the time that Bishton died (1856), Knibbs took up tenant farming and, from approximately 1862 onwards, he leased a property in the Devonport area (Pardoe). He and his wife had at least 10 children.

In the family Bible, on his seventieth birthday, Nibbs wrote 'Mine has been a chequered life, But it has been one of much Mercy from a Mercyfull god and to him more than all his due'.

**Death / Final record** Died in Launceston in 1884.

**References** C. Ramsey, "*With The Pioneers*", Hobart, 1940, A Goddard, and *William Knibbs 1809-1884*, <http://freepages.genealogy.rootsweb.com>

<b>Name</b> LEGG, John	<b>AKA</b>
<b>Age</b> 18	<b>Trade / Calling</b> Ploughman
<b>Offence / Sentence</b> Robbery (of a woman Elizabeth Montgomery) and machine breaking. Sentenced to death; commuted to transportation for 14 years.	
<b>County</b> Wiltshire	<b>Transport</b> Proteus
<b>Remarks</b> Single. John was one of three Legg brothers transported for various offences during the riots. One brother (Thomas) accompanied him on the <i>Proteus</i> , and another (William) was transported on the <i>Eleanor</i> to NSW.	
<b>Convict Conduct Record in VDL</b> Oct 18, 1833 - Insolence, neglect of duty - reprimanded. Jan 15, 1834 - Disobedience - Returned to Public Works. Feb 21 1834 - Found asleep - Constitution Hill road party for 6 months Jan 19, 1836 - Insolence to master - 3 months hard labour and not to be returned to master. April 26, 1837 - Absent from duty and improper language - dismissed from his situation and to be worked on the roads - 6 months.	
<b>Narrative of life in VDL</b> Upon arrival, Legg was assigned to Joseph Firth but after two convictions for insolence and disobedience of orders was returned to the Public Works. He reached the positions of responsibility of watchman and special messenger but lost both positions for dereliction of duty. He was briefly reassigned to a Mr Foster/Fenton but after a further conviction for insolence and gross disobedience was again sent to a road party for hard labour in irons. After serving his time on the Constitution Hill chain gang he was assigned to the Green Point road gang. Later, he was on the Spring Hill Road gang, then to Green Point again. He received a conditional pardon on 5 April 1838 and no records survive of him after that date. He may have ultimately joined his brothers on the mainland.	
<b>Death / Final record</b> No record has been found of Legg after 1838 and it is assumed he left the colony thereafter.	
<b>References</b>	

Name		LEGG, Thomas	AKA	
Age 21		Trade / Calling Farm labourer, butcher.		
Offence / Sentence Obtaining money by violence and machine breaking. Sentenced to death, commuted to transportation for 14 years.				
County Wiltshire			Transport Proteus.	
Remarks Married (wife Mary), no children. Previously charged with stealing a watch, but acquitted.				
Convict Conduct Record in VDL Dec 14, 1832- Insolence and disobedience of orders - 60 lashes. Apr 12, 1836 - In a public house after hours - reprimanded. Oct xx, 1842 - Fighting - 3 hours in stocks.				
Narrative of life in VDL Upon arrival, Legg was assigned to Mr R Stephen but by 1832 was working for Captain Robert Hepburn RN of Great Swan Port, with whom he stayed until at least 1836. It is curious that, on 5 April 1838, he received a conditional pardon and appears to have committed no further offences that would justify a return to imprisonment, yet in 1842 he was convicted of misconduct by fighting while a member of the Ross road gang. He left Van Diemen's Land for Melbourne on 26 December 1851, probably to head for the Victorian goldfields. Eventually, he went to join his brother William (and possibly John) in New South Wales, because he died there in 1866.				
Death / Final record Legg died in New South Wales in 1866.				
References				

Name	LINCOLN, Robert.	AKA
Age 25	Trade / Calling Ploughman, shoemaker	
Offence / Sentence Machine breaking. Transportationfor 7 years.		
County Norfolk	Transport Proteus.	
Remarks Married with two children (wife Mary on the parish).		
Convict Conduct Record in VDL Mar 25, 1833 - Disorderly conduct in making the servants drunk - 3 months hard labour. June 7 1833 - Refusing to work - to labour for next 4 Saturdays. Mar 16, 1834 - Obscene language - discharged for want of evidence. Feb 3, 1836 - Indecent language and falsely accusing a fellow servant of an unnatural offence - 14 days on bread and water and returned to the Government, but freely pardoned on the day he was charged and convicted, as promulgated in the <i>Hobart Town Gazette</i> (dated 5 February 1836).		
Narrative of life in VDL Upon arrival, Lincoln was assigned to the New Norfolk property of Josiah Spode, the Superintendent of Convicts. After getting some of his fellow servants drunk, however, he was sentenced to the Bridgewater road party and was subsequently re-assigned to Edward William Hodgson. He was sentenced to imprisonment and to be returned to tthe Government for an offence the same day that his free pardon was gazetted. After completing his 14 day imprisonment, he was released and the balance of the sentence was		

rendered of no effect. Lincoln married Mary Ann Hodgson, the 16 year old daughter of his former master, seven months after receiving his free pardon and she bore him a child four months later. He remained in the colony for the rest of his life.

**Death / Final record** Lincoln died in Tasmania in 1875.

**References** ADB

Name		LUSH, James	AKA	
Age 40		Trade / Calling Ploughman		
Offence / Sentence Machine breaking and obtaining money by threats of violence. Sentenced to death, commuted to transportation for life.				
County Wiltshire			Transport Proteus	
Remarks Married with five children (wife Sarah). One previous conviction for stealing turnips (2 months prison).				
Convict Conduct Record in VDL Lush accumulated 12 convictions up to October 1837, mostly for offences of disobedience, refusing to work and neglect of duty. Twice he received 50 lashes and on three occasions he received terms of hard labour in chains, amounting to 2 extra years on his original sentence.				
Narrative of life in VDL Upon arrival, Lush was assigned to William Archer JP but after two years of offences of insubordination found himself on the Bridgewater chain gang. Despite short periods of assignment to other masters Mr Stockwell and Mr Lightfoot, he always found himself back on road parties. On 5 April 1838 he was given a conditional pardon. He married Elizabeth Nelson and lived in the north of the colony, around Launceston. Elizabeth ultimately bore him 7 children. By 1851, he and his new family had moved to Victoria.. One of his sons by his first marriage in England emigrated to New South Wales as a free settler in 1838.				
Death / Final record Lush died in Victoria in 1854.				
References				

Name	MARTIN, James.	AKA
Age 33	Trade / Calling Ploughman	
Offence / Sentence 13 charges of machine breaking and robbery. Sentenced to death, commuted to transportation for 14 years.		
County Hampshire	Transport Proteus	
Remarks Married with one child (wife Elizabeth).		
Convict Conduct Record in VDL Dec 30, 1834 - In a public house - reprimanded. July 18, 1835 - Drunk in a public house - 2 days on bread and water. Dec 27, 1835 - Absent without leave, abusive language and drunkenness. - cells for 10 days.		
Narrative of life in VDL Upon arrival, Martin was assigned to Dr Francis Desailly, and appears to have remained with him until at least 1836. Martin had a spotless record except for the 12 month period commencing in late December 1834. It is interesting to note that, on 23 January 1835, he made an application for his wife and family to join him. There is no record		

of her joining him and perhaps his year of unrest was due to despair.
He received a conditional pardon on 6 April 1838 and then disappeared from history.
<b>Death / Final record</b> There is no record of Martin after he received his pardon in 1838.
<b>References</b> CON 54/1, p.47.

Name		MILES, James	AKA	
Age 18		Trade / Calling Shoemaker		
Offence / Sentence Machine breaking. Sentenced to death, commuted to 7 years transportation.				
County Buckinghamshire			Transport Proteus	
Remarks Single				
Convict Conduct Record in VDL Miles had a very turbulent convict record. He was before the magistrate on 16 separate occasions, mostly for offences of neglect, insubordination, disobedience and being found in public houses. His original sentence was extended three times.				
Narrative of life in VDL Upon arrival, Miles was assigned to Mr W. Raine and remained with him for three years. His conduct eventually saw him returned to the Crown and reassignment to Mr Crocker. He was soon back in the Crown Service though, and after a number of terms on road gangs, ended up at Port Arthur. He received a ticket of leave in 1841 and married Elizabeth Hawkins the next year. In 1848, he received a sentence of ten years for a further unspecified offence and died in 1851 while still serving this sentence.				
Death / Final record Died in Van Diemen's Land, 1851.				
References				

<b>Name</b> MILLER, Isaac		<b>AKA</b> Millard
<b>Age</b> 36	<b>Trade / Calling</b> Ploughman	
<b>Offence / Sentence</b> Destruction of property. Sentenced to death, commuted to transportation for 7 years.		
<b>County</b> Wiltshire		<b>Transport</b> Proteus
<b>Remarks</b> Married with five children (wife Elizabeth). Previous convictions for poaching (3 months) and for leaving his family (1 month).		
<b>Convict Conduct Record in VDL</b> Miller had a bad record, being before the magistrate on 14 occasions for offences primarily of drunkenness and neglect of duty. On three occasions, he received the lash.		
<b>Narrative of life in VDL</b> Upon arrival, Miller was assigned to Mr Uriah Vigar and later Mr Madden. Most of his period of assignment was spent on road parties until he received his free pardon on 3 February 1836. Some time after 1841, Miller returned to his home in England. It is interesting to note that Miller had previously deserted his family yet made the enormous effort to return to England. In his absence, Elizabeth Miller bore a daughter two years after he had been transported.		
<b>Death / Final record</b> Miller returned to England some time after 1841 and before 1851.		
<b>References</b>		

<b>Name</b>	MOODY, John	<b>AKA</b>	
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Age 26	Trade / Calling Ploughman
<b>Offence / Sentence</b> Machine breaking. Sentenced to death, commuted to transportation for 7 years.	
County Buckinghamshire	Transport Proteus
<b>Remarks</b> Moody's younger brother William was involved in the same machine breaking riot but received only one year's imprisonment.	
<b>Convict Conduct Record in VDL</b> No convictions recorded.	
<b>Narrative of life in VDL</b> Upon arrival, Moody was assigned to Mr Giblin Sr, and was killed in an accident while working for Giblin at New Norfolk later the same year.	
<b>Death / Final record</b> Died in Van Diemen's Land on 27 December 1831.	
<b>References</b>	

Name	MOORE, Giles	AKA
Age 40	Trade / Calling Ploughman	
Offence / Sentence Machine breaking. Transported for 14 years.		
County Suffolk	Transport Proteus	
Remarks Married with five children (wife Sarah).		
Previous conviction for poaching- also tried for stealing corn, but acquitted.		
Convict Conduct Record in VDL Aug 23, 1834 - Improper conduct in cock fighting - admonished.		
Narrative of life in VDL Upon arrival, Moore was assigned to G. T. Lloyd. He appears to have had a blameless term as a convict and, after receiving his free pardon on 24 April 1837, disappeared from the records.		
Death / Final record There is no record of Moore in the colony after he received his free pardon in 1837.		
There is a family tradition that he returned to England, but the date of his death is unknown.		
References		

Name	NASH, John	AKA
Age 31	Trade / Calling Top sawyer, carpenter, labourer.	
Offence / Sentence Robbery (2 sovereigns). Sentenced to death, commuted to transportation for 14 years.		
County Hampshire	Transport Proteus	
Remarks Married with 6 children (wife Dinah).		
Convict Conduct Record in VDL		
Narrative of life in VDL Upon arrival, Nash was assigned to the Loan Gang, presumably because of his stated skills as a top sawyer and carpenter. He was later assigned to Abraham Walker of Norfolk Plains and he spent the balance of his period of assignment with Mr Walker. He received a conditional pardon on 5 April 1838.		
Death / Final record It is likely that Nash departed for Port Phillip on the <i>Henrietta</i> on 6 October 1838.		
References		

Name	NEW, Jeremiah	AKA
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Age 16	Trade / Calling Farm labourer
Offence / Sentence Machine breaking. Sentenced to death, commuted to transportation for 7 years.	
County Wiltshire	Transport Proteus
Remarks Single	
Convict Conduct Record in VDL No convictions recorded.	
Narrative of life in VDL Upon arrival, New was assigned to Andrew Birrell, and died a few months later.	
Death / Final record Died in Van Diemen's Land, 18 October, 1831.	
References	

Name	NUTBEAN, Edward Charles	AKA	Nutbeene, Edmund.
Age 18	Trade / Calling Ploughman		
Offence / Sentence Demanding money with menace, sentenced to death, commuted to transportation for 7 years.			
County Hampshire		Transport Proteus	
Remarks Single.			
<b>Convict Conduct Record in VDL</b> Dec 16, 1833 - Pilfering bread from fellow prisoners - 5 months imprisonment and sent to chain gang. Jan 3, 1834 - Neglect of duty - 25 lashes. Apr 30, 1834 - Neglect of duty - 30 lashes. May 7 1834 - Neglect of work- 30 lashes. August 17, 1834 - Refusing to obey overseer - 3 days in cells.			
<b>Narrative of life in VDL</b> Upon arrival, Nutbean was assigned to former Colonial Inspector of Works William Leith, who owned a large property at Quamby's Creek in the north of the colony. He remained with Leith for almost eighteen months. In late 1833 after being convicted for pilfering bread from his fellow prisoners, Nutbean was assigned to the Notmans road gang, named after its notorious overseer, Bobby Notman, "who used to make the unfortunate prisoners work all day up to their waists in water, half-starve them, not allow them a smoke of tobacco, and when they grumbled have them conveyed to the nearest magistrate, who resided at Westbury, where they would be charged with disobedience, and if the charge was proved - which, as a matter of course, it were - these unfortunate men were flogged and taken back to work". Over the next 5 months, Nutbean was punished four times for neglect of duty on Notman's gang. He survived this punishment and after serving his time was assigned to Mr Joseph Carder in the north of the colony, where he committed no further offences. Nutbean received a free pardon on 3 February 1836 and left the island in 1846.			
<b>Death / Final record</b> Departed Van Diemen's Land on 24 February 1846.			
<b>References</b> CON 78/2, D Griffin, ("The Tramp"), <i>The Daily Telegraph</i> , 14 October 1893.			

Name	PIZZIE, Charles	AKA	Phizzie
Age 24	Trade / Calling Ploughman		
Offence / Sentence Obtaining money by threats. Sentenced to death, commuted to transportation for life.			
County Wiltshire	Transport Proteus		

<b>Remarks Married (wife Sarah).</b>
<b>Convict Conduct Record in VDL</b> Pizzie appeared before the magistrate 6 times for offences of insubordination, disobedience and drunkenness. After receiving his ticket of leave, he was again convicted on Jan 17, 1838 with drunkenness and was sentenced to 3 months hard labour.
<b>Narrative of life in VDL</b> Upon arrival, Pizzie was assigned to Thomas Parker of Macquarie Plains and remained with him until he received his ticket of leave in 1837, although it was subsequently suspended for being drunk and disorderly. He received his conditional pardon on 5 April 1838 and free pardon on 24 May 1842. That same year, he married Agnes Calder. He left the island with Agnes in 1848 and sailed for Port Phillip.
<b>Death / Final record</b> Pizzie lived in the small fishing village of Port Fairy for a number of years and died in Belfast, Victoria in 1881.
<b>References</b>

Name	POTTER, Cromwell	AKA
Age 26	Trade / Calling Ploughman, (can milk).	
Offence / Sentence 7 years.		
County Suffolk	Transport Proteus	
Remarks Married with two children (wife Rebecca).		
Convict Conduct Record in VDL No convictions recorded.		
Narrative of life in VDL Upon arrival, Potter was assigned to Mr Bayles, from the Macquarie River region. He had a spotless record and received his free pardon on 3 February 1836. Just over a year later, he left Van Diemen's Land to return to his family in England.		
Death / Final record Potter left Launceston on a London bound ship in March 1837 as a steerage passenger. He returned to his village of Withersfield in Suffolk. In 1854, his 27 year old son James sailed to New South Wales as an assisted immigrant on the <i>Anglo Saxon</i> .		
References N.S.W. Immigration Records series 023/9 (Reel 2466).		

<b>Name</b> PRIEST, Joseph		<b>AKA</b>
<b>Age</b> 36	<b>Trade / Calling</b> Farm labourer, paper maker	
<b>Offence / Sentence</b> Machine breaking. Sentenced to death, commuted to transportation for 7 years.		
<b>County</b> Buckinghamshire		<b>Transport</b> Proteus
<b>Remarks</b> Married with five children (wife Ann a lace maker).		
<b>Convict Conduct Record in VDL</b> No convictions recorded.		
<b>Narrative of life in VDL</b> Upon arrival, Priest was assigned to John Clark and remained with him until at least when he received his ticket of leave on 29 September 1835. He received his free pardon on 3 February 1836.		
<b>Death / Final record</b> There is no record of Priest after he received his free pardon in 1836. It may mean nothing but in 1851 his wife Ann described herself in a census return as a widow.		
<b>References</b>		

Name		RAMPTON, Richard	AKA	
Age 25		Trade / Calling Waiter, gentleman's servant.		
Offence / Sentence Rioting, stealing (one sovereign). Sentenced to death, commuted to transportation for 7 years.				
County Hampshire			Transport Proteus.	
Remarks Single.				
Rampton was unusual in that he was a waiter, as was his brother, and his father ran a stable.				
Convict Conduct Record in VDL July 21, 1835 - drunk - treadwheel for 6 days.				
Feb 23, 1836 - stealing goods to value of 6 pounds - existing sentence extended for 3 years.				
May 22, 1836 – Neglect of work - Reprimanded.				
Mar 22, 1837 – Absent without leave – 3 months hard labour.				
Mar 31, 1837 – Idleness – Reprimanded.				
Sept 2, 1837 - Neglect of duty - 4 months hard labour (Breadalbane Road Party).				
Jan 30, 1838 - Smoking at muster - reprimanded.				
Narrative of life in VDL Upon arrival, Rampton was assigned to Dr Thomas, but within a year was working at Government House, probably on the House staff. The next year he was assigned to the Public Works where he stayed until he received his ticket of leave in 1835.				
Up until then, Rampton's record had been very good and he quickly secured a position at Government House again. But then he stole a silver pencil case and his sentence was extended for 3 years. He was assigned briefly to a Mr Caferty, then a Mr Cottrell, but further offences led to him joining the Road Gang. He finally received a conditional pardon on 21 January 1840.				
Death / Final record Rampton died at the Brickfields Pauper Establishment in Van Diemen's Land in 1874.				
References				

<b>Name</b> ROSE, George		<b>AKA</b>
<b>Age 24</b>	<b>Trade / Calling</b> Ploughman, game keeper, kitchen gardener, waiter.	
<b>Offence / Sentence</b> Sentenced to death, commuted to transportation for 7 years..		
<b>County</b> Hampshire		<b>Transport</b> Proteus
<b>Remarks</b> Single		
<b>Convict Conduct Record in VDL</b> No convictions recorded.		
<b>Narrative of life in VDL</b> Upon arrival, Rose was assigned to Lieutenant William Gunn, formerly a superintendent of convicts and police magistrate, but within a year he had been re-assigned to the Public Works. Rose died the following year.		
<b>Death / Final record</b> Died October 1833 in Van Diemen's Land.		
<b>References</b>		

<b>Name</b>	SALTER, Arthur	<b>AKA</b>
<b>Age 19</b>	<b>Trade / Calling</b> Farm labourer, paper maker	

<b>Offence / Sentence</b> Machine breaking. Sentenced to death, commuted to transportation for 7 years.	
<b>County</b> Hampshire	<b>Transport</b> Proteus
<b>Remarks</b> Single	
<b>Convict Conduct Record in VDL</b> Oct 31, 1834 - Drunk - reprimanded. Jan 19, 1836 - Drunk and in a public house after hours - reprimanded.	
<b>Narrative of life in VDL</b> Upon arrival, Salter was assigned to a Mr Swan, with whom he remained until he received his ticket of leave in 1835. Salter received his free pardon on 3 February 1836 and married Sarah Johnston four months later. Some time after 1848, he and his family sailed to Port Phillip.	
<b>Death / Final record</b> Died in Victoria in 1891.	
<b>References</b>	

<b>Name</b>	SCOTCHINGS, William	<b>AKA</b>
<b>Age</b> 35	<b>Trade / Calling</b> Ploughman	
<b>Offence / Sentence</b> Machine breaking. Sentenced to 7 years transportation		
<b>County</b> Buckinghamshire	<b>Transport</b> Proteus	
<b>Remarks</b> Married with one child (wife Rebecca on the parish). She was in fact his second wife, the first having died.		
<b>Convict Conduct Record in VDL</b> No convictions recorded.		
<b>Narrative of life in VDL</b> Upon arrival, Scotchings was assigned to Mr Radcliffe, who he stayed with until receiving his ticket of leave in 1835. He received a free pardon on 3 February 1836.		
<b>Death / Final record</b> Died in Tasmania in 1879		
<b>References</b>		

<b>Name</b>	SHIP, Stephen	<b>AKA</b>
<b>Age</b> 19	<b>Trade / Calling</b> Ploughman, shepherd	
<b>Offence / Sentence</b> Machine breaking. Sentenced to transportation for 7 years.		
<b>County</b> Suffolk	<b>Transport</b> Proteus	
<b>Remarks</b> Single. Ship was the nephew of Cromwell Potter.		
<b>Convict Conduct Record in VDL</b> No convictions recorded.		
<b>Narrative of life in VDL</b> Upon arrival, Ship was assigned to Mr W. Griffiths. It would appear that Ship remained with Griffiths until he received his ticket of leave in 1835. He received his free pardon on 3 February 1836.		
<b>Death / Final record</b> Ship returned to England some time after he received his free pardon.		
<b>References</b>		

<b>Name</b>	SIMS, John	<b>AKA</b>	Seames
<b>Age</b> 25	<b>Trade / Calling</b> Farm labourer		

<b>Offence / Sentence</b> Demanding money with menace. Sentenced to death, commuted to transportation for 7 years.	
<b>County</b> Hampshire	<b>Transport</b> Proteus
<b>Remarks</b> Married with two children (wife Mary). John's father and two of his brothers were transported to New South Wales on the <i>Eleanor</i> for machine breaking as well.	
<b>Convict Conduct Record in VDL</b> No convictions recorded.	
<b>Narrative of life in VDL</b> Upon arrival, Sims was assigned to Michael Lackey a farmer and miller who owned properties at Old Beach, Tunbridge and Bagdad. Sims remained on Lackey's properties until he received his ticket of leave in 1835. He received his free pardon on 3 February 1836.	
<b>Death / Final record</b> Died in Hobart in 1866.	
<b>References</b>	

<b>Name</b> SMITH, John		<b>AKA</b> Budd
<b>Age</b> 27	<b>Trade / Calling</b> Ploughman	
<b>Offence / Sentence</b> Machine breaking (paper making machine). Sentenced to death, commuted to transportation for 7 years.		
<b>County</b> Buckinghamshire		<b>Transport</b> Proteus
<b>Remarks</b> Married with two children (wife Elizabeth a paper maker). Three previous convictions for stealing wood.		
<b>Convict Conduct Record in VDL</b> Dec 13, 1834 - Disorderly conduct - one month on Sorell Rivulet road party and not to be returned to his master. Dec 26, 1835 - Stealing two bottles of claret the property of Solomon Austin (to the value of 5/-)- existing sentence extended by 6 months. Feb 26, 1836 - Absconding - 6 months hard labour in chains. Dec 21, 1836 - Disobedience, neglect of duty - cell on bread and water for 4 days.		
<b>Narrative of life in VDL</b> Upon arrival, Smith was assigned to Mr F Cawthorn in New Norfolk and remained with him until late 1834. Despite his previously unblemished career as a convict, following one offence of disorderly conduct he was sent to a road party with an order that he not be returned to his master. At the expiration of this additional sentence he was assigned to the Green Ponds gang. Then, after a short period of assignment to Mr Solomon Austin, he was again in trouble. This time it appears he was guilty of stealing two cheap bottles of wine from his master at Christmas time. Following his return to the road gang, he absconded and after recapture was returned to the Public Works. In late 1836 he was working for Captain O'Hara at Morven (Evandale). He finally gained his freedom by the effluxion of time in early 1839.		
<b>Death / Final record</b> There is no record of Smith in the colony after he received his freedom in 1839, and it is assumed he left the colony.		
<b>References</b>		

<b>Name</b>	STAPLETON, Thomas	<b>AKA</b>	
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Age 39	Trade / Calling Ploughman, farm labourer.
Offence / Sentence Machine breaking. Sentenced to transportation for 14 years.	
County Huntingdonshire	Transport Proteus
Remarks Married with five children (wife Mary). One prior conviction for vagrancy.	
Convict Conduct Record in VDL Jan 2, 1833 - Misconduct - returned to PW. Sep 11, 1834 - Improper conduct and saying he would never do his master any good - Grass Tree Hill party for 6 months and not to be returned to service. Feb 2, 1835 - Having flour in his bed, for which he could not satisfactorily account - 3 months chain gang then returned to road gang. Mar 28, 1837 - Disobedience and insolence - Cells for 10 days.	
Narrative of life in VDL Upon arrival, Stapleton was assigned to James Lucas in the northern midlands. In total, he worked for three masters, (the others being Cassidy and Crocker) in between periods on the road gang for offences of minor misconduct. Nevertheless, Stapleton received his free pardon on 24 April 1837 and remained in the colony - probably as a farm labourer. In the 1851 colonial census he was recorded as living on Bruny Island. He probably went to the island to seek out his fellow Huntingdonshire machine breaker William Colley, who had remained on the island after he had received his free pardon in 1836.	
Death / Final record Died in Tasmania in 1861	
References	

Name	SUMMERFIELD, Samuel.	AKA
Age 20	Trade / Calling Paper maker	
Offence / Sentence Machine breaking (paper machine). Sentenced to death, commuted to transportation for 7 years.		
County Buckinghamshire.	Transport Proteus	
Remarks Single.		
Convict Conduct Record in VDL Feb 6 1832- Disobedience - reprimanded. Mar 21, 1832 - Disobedience - 25 lashes Apr 26, 1832 - Absent from master's premises for a night - 50 lashes Jan 21, 1837 - Breaking, entering and stealing - coins to the value of nine shillings and eightpence - transported for life.		
Narrative of life in VDL Upon arrival, Summerfield was assigned to the VDL Company, but this was amended to J.L. Calder of Hobart Town. Apart from a brief spurt of resistance in the early months of 1832, Summerfield appears to have had a quiet convict career. In 1835 he was re-assigned to Dr Dermer and received his free pardon on 3 February 1836. His life took a turn for the worse later that year and he was convicted of breaking and entering the house of Job Neale in Hobart and stealing some money from him. He was sent to Port Arthur and did not receive his ticket of leave until March 1845. A year later he married Eliza Hannan, a widow, in New Norfolk and they had three children.		

<b>Death / Final record</b> Died in Tasmania in 1864.
<b>References</b>

Name	TAYLOR, William	AKA
Age 48	Trade / Calling Ploughman, sawyer.	
Offence / Sentence Demanding a sovereign in the riots. Sentenced to death, commuted to transportation for 7 years.		
County Wiltshire	Transport Proteus	
Remarks Married with eight children (wife Elizabeth). One previous conviction for poaching.		
Convict Conduct Record in VDL No convictions recorded.		
Narrative of life in VDL Upon arrival, Taylor was assigned to the Loan Gang but by 1832 was working for James Simpson, police magistrate, on his property at Little Swan Port. He remained on Simpson's property until at least the date when he received his ticket of leave in 1835. His free pardon was issued on 3 February 1836 but three weeks earlier he had sailed to Port Phillip as a shepherd with William Robertson and John Gellibrand, both members of the Port Phillip Association – as was James Simpson as well.		
Death / Final record It is most likely that Taylor died in Victoria some time after he left Van Diemen's Land in 1836.		
References		

Name		THORN(E), John	AKA
Age 22		Trade / Calling Shepherd	
Offence / Sentence Machine breaking (a threshing machine). Sentenced to death, commuted to transportation for 7 years.			
County Wiltshire		Transport Proteus	
Remarks Single.			
Convict Conduct Record in VDL Aug 15, 1832 - Disobedience - reprimanded. Aug 22, 1832 - Falsely accusing his master (John Archer) of allowing him insufficient rations. -Reprimanded.			
Narrative of life in VDL Upon arrival, Thorne was assigned to Lewis Gillis but by 1832 was working on the farm of John Archer, with whom he stayed until he received his ticket of leave in 1835. He received his free pardon on 3 February 1836 and departed from Launceston on the <i>Industry</i> for Port Phillip on 29 August 1839.			
Death / Final record Probably died in Victoria in 1892.			
References			

Name		TOLLARD, John	AKA	
Age 22		Trade / Calling Ploughman, farm labourer		
Offence / Sentence Riotous assembly and demanding money with menace. Sentenced to death, commuted to transportation for 7 years.				
County Hampshire			Transport Protrus	



<b>Remarks</b> Married with one child (wife Sarah).
Tollard had in fact only been married six weeks when he joined the riots. Sarah's first child was recorded at baptism in March 1830 as being "base born". Whether the child was Tollard's is unknown. Sarah Tollard bore a second child three years after John was transported.
Tollard admitted to having one prior conviction in England for poaching.
<b>Convict Conduct Record in VDL</b> Apr 9, 1833 - Assaulting and beating his master - admonished. Sep 30 1834 - Being tipsy - admonished.
<b>Narrative of life in VDL</b> Upon arrival, Tollard was assigned to Thomas Tremble and remained with him until he received his ticket of leave in 1835. He received his free pardon on 3 February 1836. He married Ann Neate (Nate) in 1837 and they had 11 children, the first nine were born in Clarence, and the last two were born in 1859 and 1863 at Ralph's Bay. Tollard must have returned to Clarence in his declining years, because he and Ann died there respectively in 1876 and 1890.
<b>Death / Final record</b> Died in Tasmania, 1876.
<b>References</b>

<b>Name</b> TOOMER, George		<b>AKA</b>
<b>Age</b> 36	<b>Trade / Calling</b> Farm labourer, ploughman.	
<b>Offence / Sentence</b> Stealing, robbery. Sentenced to death, commuted to transportation for 7 years.		
<b>County</b> Wiltshire		<b>Transport</b> Proteus
<b>Remarks</b> Married with two children (wife Lydia). One previous conviction for vagrancy.		
<b>Convict Conduct Record in VDL</b> No convictions recorded.		
<b>Narrative of life in VDL</b> Upon arrival, Toomer was assigned to Captain Spotswood and remained with him until he received his ticket of leave in 1835. He received his free pardon on 3 February 1836.		
<b>Death / Final record</b> Toomer had returned to England by 1841. He outlived his first wife and remarried in 1847. His marriage record disclosed that he was still a labourer at the time he remarried.		
<b>References</b>		

<b>Name</b> TURNER, Moses		<b>AKA</b> Turnham
<b>Age</b> 45	<b>Trade / Calling</b> Ploughman	
<b>Offence / Sentence</b> Machine breaking (threshing machine). Transported for 7 years.		
<b>County</b> Buckinghamshire		<b>Transport</b> Proteus
<b>Remarks</b> Married with two children (wife Hannah).		
<b>Convict Conduct Record in VDL</b> Jan 31, 1833 - Stealing a bushel of potatoes - 6 months imprisonment and labour.		
<b>Narrative of life in VDL</b> Upon arrival Turner was assigned to a Mr Ludgate but after being convicted of stealing from Ludgate's garden and serving his sentence he was re-assigned to a Mr H Harris, whom he remained with		

May 6 that year for drunkenness, for which he was fined 5 shillings.
<b>Death / Final record</b> There is no record of Walker in Van Diemen's Land after his minor conviction in May 1836 and it is assumed he departed the colony.
<b>References</b>

<b>Name</b> WAREHAM, William		<b>AKA</b>
<b>Age</b> 25	<b>Trade / Calling</b> Ploughman	
<b>Offence / Sentence</b> Rioting, stealing. Sentenced to death, commuted to transportation for 7 years.		
<b>County</b> Hampshire		<b>Transport</b> Proteus
<b>Remarks</b> Single.		
Previous conviction in England for leaving his master.		
<b>Convict Conduct Record in VDL</b> Feb 11, 1833 - Disobedience and gross neglect of duty - 50 lashes Apr 1, 1833 - Stealing a quart of milk - 50 lashes Aug 3, 1833 - Improper conduct - acquitted.		
<b>Narrative of life in VDL</b> Upon arrival Wareham was assigned to Captain Crear, a retired naval officer. He remained with Crear until he received his ticket of leave in 1835, despite two occasions on which he was sentenced to receive the lash. He received his free pardon on 3 February 1836. In 1841, Wareham sailed to Port Phillip and worked as a farm labourer on various properties around Melbourne for the rest of his life. In 1844, he married Esther Forbes, an Irish bounty immigrant girl twenty years his junior from County Derry. They had ten children. His eldest son William moved to the Western district where his descendants had a very long association with the property 'Woolongoon' until the 1970's.		
<b>Death / Final record</b> Died at Doncaster, Victoria in 1866.		
<b>References</b> Information provided by Lynn Haines.		

<b>Name</b> WEEDON, Richard		<b>AKA</b>
<b>Age</b> 41	<b>Trade / Calling</b> Farmer's labourer.	
<b>Offence / Sentence</b> Machine breaking (paper machine). Sentenced to death, commuted to transportation for life.		
<b>County</b> Buckinghamshire.		<b>Transport</b> Proteus
<b>Remarks</b> Married with four children (wife Ann). Two previous convictions, one for stealing wood and one for assault.		
<b>Convict Conduct Record in VDL</b> April 23, 1832 - Absent without permission - admonished. Sept 9, 1833 - grounds unclear - 4 months imprisonment and hard labour. Not to be returned to his master. Jan 13, 1834 - Not proceeding according to his pass - treadwheel for 3 days. Feb 15, 1838 - Wilfully destroying his clothes and general misconduct - 3 months chain gang 4 June 4, 1841 - X - 2 years probation at Lovely Banks. From 1841 onwards, there were a series of convictions for offences of disobedience, drunkenness and insolence while serving on various road gangs around the colony.		

**Narrative of life in VDL** Upon arrival, Weedon was first assigned to A Walter at Old Beach but by early 1832, he was working for Mr Garrard. After a string of offences he was sent to the Public Works in late 1833 and stayed there for the rest of his life.

By the time his free pardon belatedly arrived in April 1838, he was already serving a further sentence and so could not take the benefit of the pardon.

**Death / Final record** Weedon died as a convict while serving a subsequent sentence in 1847.

**References**

<b>Name</b>	WHITAKER, Farewell	<b>AKA</b>	
<b>Age</b> 40	<b>Trade / Calling</b> Ploughman		
<b>Offence / Sentence</b> Machine breaking. Transported for 7 years.			
<b>County</b> Norfolk		<b>Transport</b> Proteus	
<b>Remarks</b> Married with seven children.(wife Frances).			
<b>Convict Conduct Record in VDL</b> No convictions recorded			
<b>Narrative of life in VDL</b> Upon arrival, Whitaker was assigned to a Mr Sharp. On June 11, 1832, however, he was returned to the Public Works, "being, it is believed, insane". He was sane enough to be re-assigned however, and eventually received his free pardon on 3 February 1836.			
<b>Death / Final record</b> Some time after receiving his free pardon, Whitaker sailed to Port Phillip. He died in Victoria in 1857.			
<b>References</b>			

<b>Name</b>	WILLIAMS, William	<b>AKA</b>	
<b>Age</b> 19	<b>Trade / Calling</b> Ploughman, can milk.		
<b>Offence / Sentence</b> Machine breaking. Transported for 7 years.			
<b>County</b> Suffolk		<b>Transport</b> Proteus	
<b>Remarks</b> Single. One previous conviction for poaching.			
<b>Convict Conduct Record in VDL</b> No convictions recorded.			
<b>Narrative of life in VDL</b> Upon arrival, Williams was assigned to Mr Brady and appears to have remained with him until he received his ticket of leave in 1835. He received his free pardon on 3 February 1836.			
<b>Death / Final record</b> Williams left the colony for Port Phillip in 1840.			
<b>References</b>			

<b>Name</b>	WINGROVE, Edmund	<b>AKA</b>	
<b>Age</b> 24	<b>Trade / Calling</b> Farmer's labourer.		
<b>Offence / Sentence</b> Machine breaking. Transported for 7 years.			

County Buckinghamshire	Transport Proteus
<b>Remarks Single.</b> One previous conviction for stealing wood.	
<b>Convict Conduct Record in VDL</b> No convictions recorded.	
<b>Narrative of life in VDL</b> Upon arrival, Wingrove was assigned to Mr W Storey and appears to have remained with him until he received his ticket of leave in 1835. He received his free pardon on 3 February 1836.	
<b>Death / Final record</b> There is no record of Wingrove after he received his free pardon in 1836 and it is assumed he left the colony.	
<b>References</b>	

<b>Name</b> WITHERS, Peter		<b>AKA</b>
<b>Age</b> 23	<b>Trade / Calling</b> Shoemaker	
<b>Offence / Sentence</b> Rioting. Sentenced to death, commuted to transportation for life.		
<b>County</b> Wiltshire	<b>Transport</b> Proteus	
<b>Remarks</b> Married with two children - twins. (Wife Mary Ann).		
<b>Convict Conduct Record in VDL</b> Dec12, 1831 - Disobedience and neglect of duty-reprimanded. Oct 9, 1832 - Not answering name when called at muster - admonished Oct 23, 1832 - Disobedience, neglect, drunkenness and repeated absence without leave - imprisonment and hard labour for 3 months.		
<b>Narrative of life in VDL</b> Upon arrival, Withers was assigned to a Mr Goode, and appears to have remained with this master - apart from a short spell on the road gang - until he received his conditional pardon on 5 April 1838. In 1836, Withers had received permission to marry Anne Wade in Hobart. On the marriage certificate he was described as a bachelor. In 1844, he wrote to Mary Ann back in England to tell her that he had remarried. His new wife was meant to receive an inheritance in 1846 and it is probable that, some time after she received it, they sailed to South Australia.		
<b>Death / Final record</b> Died in South Australia, 1872.		
<b>References</b> Peter Withers Letters, AOT.		